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An evaluation of personal, social, and political change through Upward Bound.

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AN EVALUATION OF PERSONAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CHANGE THROUGH UPWARD BOUND

A Dissertation Presented

By

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An Evaluation of Personal, Social, and
Political Change Through Upward Bound

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This dissertation thoroughly examines the situation of poor people in America and investigates the efforts of one program, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound Program, to combat the detrimental results of poverty. By means of a questionnaire and interview the study specifically evaluates the following five major areas of impact in the students' lives: self, family, friends, academics and school, and the significance of the future. Twelve Upward Bound graduates from the year 1972 participated in the study.

Prior studies on Upward Bound have only looked at narrow segments of students' lives such as writing skills, speech patterns, testing abilities, future goals, high school grades, college retention rates, and self concept as learners. This study differs, however, in that it is a holistic evaluation exploring the personal, social, and political growth of the student. The results of this study can be applied to nationwide Upward Bound programs due to the uniformity of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare guidelines.

In the thesis a thorough description of the 1972 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound Program is

offered. This in itself would be incomplete. Therefore in order to provide a framework for understanding the existence of Upward Bound programs, a comprehensive overview of the many dimensions of poverty is discussed.

The results of the study show that every student was overwhelmingly influenced in at least four of the five areas under investigation. A large majority of the subjects reported that Upward Bound had a strong influence on their self perceptions, thoughts, and feelings; their relationships with their families; their skills and capacities to make new friends; their grades, attitudes, and attendance in school; and their ability to see the future clearer. A significant number of subjects disclosed that because of Upward Bound their activities with friends changed and their high school curricula changed. Hence the study clearly demonstrates that Upward Bound plays a major role in helping subjects to improve the quality of their lives.

Students were not only influenced in the five focal areas of this study's concentration, but the results continually pointed to three additional significant areas of impact on the Upward Bound students. They were: the development of political awareness and sophistication, the development of a spirit of synergism, and the development of an understanding, appreciation, and respect for other individuals and cultures.

An examination of the subjects' financial backgrounds and current situations was also made. Nine students' families

received full or partial public aid during their Upward Bound years. An evaluation of the students' present situations showed that seven were enrolled in college, three others had already been to college and planned to return, one other planned to enter college, and one subject did not plan to go to college but had a steady job and was supporting his wife and child. Of the other four not in college three are financially independent and one is completing a work training program. Therefore all the subjects are either in college or financially self supportive except one who will be financially independent shortly, showing that Upward Bound plays a significant role in improving the quality and enhancing the success of Upward Bound students' lives.

Upward Bound affects individuals and groups other than those who are directly involved in the program. This thesis discusses the following other areas of influence: Upward Bound families; Upward Bound staff; non-Upward Bound students; community agencies; and local, state, and federal politicians.

The limitations of the study and future recommendations for students, staff, additional outreach programs to include in the Upward Bound structure, the formation of a coalition of community agencies, and survival strategies for individual and nationwide Upward Bound programs are discussed.

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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Statement of the Problem

This dissertation investigates the effects of the American culture on low income people and the efforts of one program, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program, to combat these effects. The study attempts to thoroughly examine the various aspects and conditions of poverty as a framework for understanding the existence of anti-poverty programs such as Upward Bound. An attempt will also be made to examine the design and structure of the Upward Bound program and the impact of the program on low income high school students which it serves.

This study specifically endeavors to evaluate the impact of the Upward Bound program on five major areas in the students' lives: Self, Family, Friends, Academics and School, and the Significance of the Future. A sample of twelve Upward Bound graduates participated in the study. Each of the subjects was interviewed and answered a questionnaire regarding the influence of the Upward Bound program in the five areas under investigation. In the process they gave a full report about their present status and living conditions two years after completing Upward Bound and high school.

The findings of this study can apply to other Upward Bound projects because of the uniformity among the nation's

more than 350 programs. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which funds Upward Bound, has specified basic guidelines for all national programs. Despite slight modifications of the federal regulations by each program to meet individual needs, the guidelines create a baseline so that the results of a study on any one program may be pertinent to other programs.

A review of the research on Upward Bound students indicates that studies have looked at only particular narrow segments of students' lives as speech patterns, writing skills, testing abilities, future goals, high school grades, and first year college grades. This study is the first to attempt a holistic evaluation of Upward Bound's influence on students' lives. After reviewing the existent data Thomas Billings, the former national director for Upward Bound, pointed out that "Our most important achievements may be hidden, less available to statistical analysis, beyond the comprehension of auditors and politicians" (Mulligan, 1969, p. 5). This study then is an attempt to look at those hidden achievements: specifically the impact of the Upward Bound program on self, family, friends, academics and school, and the significance of the future. The study will focus on the current situation of some of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound graduates from the year 1972, and whether or not Upward Bound had an influence on the quality and success of their lives.

Design of the Dissertation

The dissertation will be divided into five chapters. The first chapter will include a statement of the problem, the purpose for the study, the evolution of the Upward Bound programs, the methodology of the study, and a rationale for the type of methodology used.

The second chapter will consist of a review of the literature and research on the conditions of poverty. This section will provide the reader with an overview of the multiple aspects of poverty by looking at the history of poverty in the 1960s, the definition of poverty, the financial realities of poverty, population statistics, characteristics of low income families as compared to higher income families, some myths about poverty, income related to sex and race, unmarried women with children, rural and urban conditions of poverty, mental and physical health, housing conditions, crime, and the employment situation for the poor. Chapter II will continue with a comprehensive examination of the educational situation of the poor: America's commitment to education, public school conditions, characteristics of low income high school students, barriers to college, racism in higher education, and the poor in relation to enrollment, acceptance and success in college.

The third chapter will look at Upward Bound as an alternative social and educational program for people from low income backgrounds. In this chapter will be a thorough description of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Up-

ward Bound program in order that the reader may gain a full perspective of the kinds of activities and opportunities offered to the Upward Bound student.

Chapter IV will disclose the results of the study. The five areas of investigation as well as financial backgrounds, family constitutions, curriculum levels, ranks in class, grades, absentee records, years in the program, and current situations will all be reported.

Chapter V will include a discussion of the results, conclusions, recommendations for future research, and recommendations for future programs.

The Evolution of the Upward Bound Program

At a 1965 White House conference on education Hubert Humphrey stated, "Millions of youngsters from impoverished backgrounds are caught in a downward spiral of second-rate education, functional illiteracy, deliquency, dependency, and despair" (White House Conference on Education, 1965, p. 5). This statement underscores the intent of President Kennedy's 1966 war on poverty. Following the trend of the White House conference on education, Sargent Shriver, then the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, announced in conjunction with President Kennedy's clearly stated goals, that his office would initiate the war on American poverty. Upward Bound was one of the many programs designed during this period.

Upward Bound began with seventeen pilot projects consisting of 2,061 students in the summer of 1965. The main thrust of the program was to develop the wasted talent and potential for higher education of low income high school youth. Thomas Billings explained,

> Hopefully our program will assist our youngesters to become competent and effective participants in the American social and economic order. But beyound that our programs should assist Upward Bound youngsters to become sensitive human beings, free, informed, and committed to the human struggle for excellence (Upward Bound guidelines, 1969-70, p. vii).

By June of 1966 Upward Bound included 215 programs in various colleges, universities, and secondary schools. These host institutions ranged throughout 47 states, the Virgin Island, Puerto Rico, and Guam, serving 20,000 youngsters in the tenth and eleventh grades. The growth continued and by 1968 there were about 300 institutions participating in the Upward Bound programs in every state in the country, serving 26,000 high school students. Those programs primarily found their home environment in an educational institutional setting. Upward Bound utilized available cultural and educational facilities for the program enrollees along with the resources of college and university faculty and graduate students as teachers and tutors. The Upward Bound program at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst was initiated in 1966 by the Assistant to the Provost, a committee of interested faculty, and representatives from Western Massachu-

setts Community Action Agencies.

The program was, and still is, divided into two parts during the course of the year: 1) the residential summer portion and 2) the follow-up academic school year portion. The residential summer portion of the program is composed of five to eight weeks of an on campus living situation, generally focusing on academic, cultural, social, and recreational activities. This provides exposure to college life and the opportunity to accumulate credits towards a college diploma before actually entering college as a freshman. The follow-up portion of the program involves the full time staff members of the program continuing ongoing relationships with the students and their lives. This includes going to students' homes, to the high schools, to the local neighborhood hang outs, to welfare agencies, and to other community agencies. The follow-up portion of the program lasts from September to June.

Students are enrolled in the program for a period of three to four years. They enter Upward Bound during their freshman or sophomore years in high school and terminate their official enrollment after the summer of their last year in high school. This allows for meaningful and full relationships with the Upward Bound staff.

Presently there are over 350 nationwide Upward Bound programs. Under the Nixon administration there was a de-emphasis on social service institutions including Upward

Bound. Practically speaking this has meant a decrease in available funds. This decrease in funding added to the cost of living increases and the problems of modern unemployment, essentially means that Upward Bound programs are financially strangling.

An example of an Upward Bound program whose funds are diminishing is the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, program. At the inception of the program in 1966, $156,000 was allocated from Washington for a one year period. The program at that time encompassed 100 students. Two years ago, 1972-1973, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, program received $138,000 for 120 students. For the 1973-1974 program the staff requested $174,000 in order to maintain a qualitative program for the increasingly growing population of students needing and wanting to participate. The amount of money awarded to the program was $54,000 short of the requested amount, and $18,000 less than the previous year--a figure of $120,000 in total. This year, 1974-1975 the government has further decreased the funds. The University of Massachusetts, Amherst, program will receive $95,000 (the lowest amount in the history of the program) and be forced to reduce the student population by over 25%. The decrease in finances is evident in other programs as well, despite positive feedback and program evaluations. The result of less available money for programs is antithetical to the governmental demands for good qualitative programs.

The author of this study surmises that Upward Bound programs will be phased out over the next few years. Yet the struggle continues for poor people and the survival of viable programs that focus on poverty. Hopefully this study may supply some of the lacking evidence to the regional Boston office and the national Washington office to be utilized in the continual effort to break the cycle of poverty.

Purpose of the Study

This study takes a comprehensive look at the effects of the Upward Bound program, focusing on accomplishments of Upward Bound graduates. To date studies on Upward Bound have ignored the holistic qualitative effects of the program, emphasizing only specific aspects of the students' lives. The following are examples of such studies. Boney (1967) at the University of Illinois found Upward Bound students' writing 'flat' and found deficiencies in students' speech. He postulated that they were victims of poverty who found their environment so depressing they didn't want to look at it. Brown (1967) took 120 tenth grade Upward Bound students and placed them in study skills courses. He found significant increases in abilities in all four courses as compared to previous testing and national averages. Herson (1968) worked with 30 male Upward Bound studies at the University of Maryland. She contrasted their job choices with 30 non-Upward Bound male students. The Upward Bound students chose profes-

sional and white collar jobs for future goals while the control group chose blue collar jobs. Sinclair's study (1968) at Bellorain College and then at the University of Louisville discovered Upward Bound students' grade averages remained the same but there was a significant change in attitudes and behavior. Silverstein (1968) found through the Upward Bound experience 150 students at Wisconsin State University gained academic skills. Greenleigh (1970) found that Upward Bound influenced college aspirations as well as high school attrition rates--7% of Upward Bound students quit high school while 30% of the control group quit high school. Hunt and Hardt (1969) discovered the last summer in Upward Bound had a positive effect on attitudes and motivation while Paschal and Williams (1970) found no changes in students' self concept as learners or attitudinal changes as a result of the six week summer program. Applied Data Research (1970) results showed PSAT scores remaining the same for Upward Bound students despite enrollment in the program. Gardenshire (1968) found that 80% of the Upward Bound students who graduated in 1965-1966 entered college and that 82% were still in college after two years. Shea (1967) found the same 80% of Upward Bound students entering college, but only 50% remaining. Glickstern (1969) followed up Shea's study and discovered 65-80% of Upward Bound students enter college and 74-82% of the students at Wayne State were still there in their sophomore years. Granawsky (1969) found that 100% of

the Upward Bound students enter college and 83% were still enrolled after a year.

The majority of these studies were favorable for Upward Bound, showing that Upward Bound as an institution does have an impact on students both while they are in the program and later by being accepted and remaining in college. Still these studies do not account for a holistic assessment of the overall impact of the program on students, leaving large questions about the efficacy of Upward Bound. Consequently this study will be geared towards answering those questions, hopefully substantiating the existing evidence for the retention of Upward Bound programs. The writer also believes that this study will aid Upward Bound programs in being recognized as a 'peoples' program, and a humanistically oriented social service change agent, that must be measured and evaluated as such in the future.

Methodology

This study will focus on a sample of twelve students who have participated in the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program and graduated in the year 1972. There was a total of 24 graduates in the Upward Bound class of 1972. Twelve were involved in the study because eight students were unable to be located, another two students joined the armed services and are stationed overseas, one student is currently living out of state, and one student

agreed to participate in the study but broke three consecutive appointments with the interviewer. Thus, with the exception of the one uncooperative student, the sample of 12 selected for this study represents all of the 1972 Upward Bound graduates geographically able to participate in the research. There appears to be no evidence to suggest that students were selected in a manner that might bias the results of this study.

Each of the subjects will be contacted by the writer and appointments will be set up at times and in places which are convenient for them. An open-ended interview, designed by the writer to allow for maximum freedom of response, will be administered to each subject by the author. The interview will range freely over the relationship of the Upward Bound program to the five major areas of interest in this study: self, family, friends, academics and school, and the significance of the future. Together these five areas may provide a detailed assessment of current functioning and the social status of the 12 subjects. An interview guide (Appendix A) will be used to insure that all five areas are covered sometime during the interview. All interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed.

Succeeding the interview, a written questionnaire (Appendix B), designed by the author, will be administered to each subject without time limits. The questionnaire was designed to elicit in a more quantifiable form responses to the

same questions and issues covered in the interview. Using two different and separate forms of data will allow for a check on response consistency.

When all the interviews and questionnaires are completed the information will be categorized in each of the five areas of investigation. Additional information that does not fit in the five categories will be filed in a general category and later analyzed. Individual responses will then be examined, checking for inconsistencies in the interview and questionnaire responses by each individual. The data analysis will follow.

Rationale

The study was designed with both a questionnaire and interview, with the author as the interviewer, with an open-ended interview, and without a control group for several reasons. This section will explain the basis for the design.

The utilization of both an interview and questionnaire will provide two different styles of data collection. The blend of the two styles will contribute the following:

1. a written self declaration
2. a recorded verbal statement
3. the interviewer's evaluation
4. the interviewee's self report

Examining the consistency between the written and verbal results will help further measure and validate the information.

The author conducted the interviews in the study for two

main reasons. One reason is that the author is familiar with the people who will serve as subjects. This gives the author the advantage of knowing something about their lives and their knowing something about the author's life, which means there is already an established trust relationship. Secondly, the relationships with the subjects may help in developing an immediate openness and honesty, in the interview and questionnaire process.

The means of inquiry are further substantiated by other people in the field. John Lofland (1961) maintains that a closeness between the interviewer and interviewee is a positive element, saying:

> It can be said first that the reporter should have himself been close to the people he reports on . . . . (1) He should have been close in the physical sense of conducting his own life in face-to-face proximity to the persons he tells about. (2) This physical proximity should have extended over some significant period of time and variety of circumstances. (3) The reporter should have developed closeness in the social sense of intimacy and confidentiality (p. 3).

The interview was conducted in an open-ended manner, similar to many other researchers in the field. Ray (1961), Maurer (1962), Finestone (1957), Gold (1964), Cressey (1950), Reiss (1961), Becker (1953), Schien (1956), Davis (1968), Hall (1948), and Lemert (1953) all have documented the usefulness of open-ended interviews in their own research. Lindzey (1954) also has pointed out how important open-ended

self reports are stating that research for attitudinal measurement should be based exclusively on subjects' self reports. Consequently to achieve a comprehensive humanistic appraisal of the program's impact on students, an open-ended self report was selected as the best means of collecting data.

This study is not analyzing Upward Bound students in comparison to other students, but is investigating the intrinsic value of the Upward Bound program's qualitative influence on its students' lives. Therefore no control group was used. Because the study analyzes the efficacy of Upward Bound in and of itself, the author finds that a control group is not necessary for this study. L. J. Cronbach (1963) nicely refers to the issue of control groups.

> Since group comparisons give equivocal results, I believe that a formal study should be designed primarily to design post-course performance of a well described group, with respect to many important objectives and side effects. Our is like the problem of an engineer examining a new automobile. He can set himself the task of defining its performance characteristics and its dependability. It would be merely disturbing to put the question in the form: Is the car better or worse than the competing brand? (p. 238).

Taking a broader look at the humanistic evaluation approach of this study, it is clear that this method is the most functional in providing an all-embracing appraisal of the quality and success of students' lives as a result of the Upward Bound program. Many social scientists, such as J.

Lofland (1961), R. McIntrye (1970), R. Sommer (1973), E. P. Willems and H. L. Raush (1969); J. Kavanau (1961), and L. Cronbach (1964) advocate this style in conjunction with other modes of research to provide a comprehensive perspective when investigating the social sciences. Thus this study will help the reader acquire a richer perspective of the influence of Upward Bound on its students by taking a humanistic approach.

C H A P T E R I I

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND RESEARCH ON AMERICAN POVERTY

Introduction

This chapter will attempt to provide an extensive review of the relevant literature and research concerning the conditions of poverty in the United States. Since the Upward Bound students and their families are all from low income backgrounds, a thorough examination of the American poverty may provide the reader with some understanding and awareness of the dimensions in poor peoples' worlds, and hopefully aid the reader in understanding why such programs as Upward Bound exist.

The chapter will begin by looking at the history of poverty through the 1960s, then proceed to explore the definition of poverty, financial realities of the poor, population statistics and other characteristics of poor families as compared to higher income families. Four currently popular and controversial myths about poverty will then be described and examined.

The chapter then examines poverty as it relates to income by race and sex, women and children, rural and urban conditions, mental and physical health, housing conditions, crime, and the employment situation.

A detailed look at the educational aspects of poverty is then reviewed. This includes: America's commitment to

education, conditions of the public schools for the poor, characteristics of low income students in high school, college entrance obstacles for poor people, racism in higher education, and poor people in relation to enrollment, acceptance and retention.

This review may enable the reader to gain a more thorough understanding of the multiple facets of poverty in general, and the Upward Bound population in particular.

American Poverty--The Historical 1960s

Despite the existence of poverty in the United States since the country's birth, the issue was virtually ignored until the 1960s, almost 200 years later. During the 1960s domestic poverty was finally reexamined and recognized as an important political and intellectual concept in the United States. Up to this point poverty in America had been depicted as affecting less than 10% of the population: blacks, immigrants, the aged, the disabled, and the rural residents were typically considered victims of poverty (Horton and Leslie, 1960; Bergel, 1962). Early in the 1960s, the American government realized that the continued economic growth it had advocated had not, and would not, eradicate poverty. The Presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy brought the press, the public, and the candidate himself into contact with the impoverished communities of West Virginia. Theodore White, in the book The Making of a President, 1960, described

Kennedy's shock while touring various communities. The future chief executive of the United States government concerning himself with the domestic secret, poverty, was a sign of progress.

In 1961, Oscar Lewis, in the book Children of Sanchez, introduced a new concept: the "culture of poverty." Lewis defined the culture of poverty as transcending regional, urban, rural, and national differences. He said that there were remarkable cross cultural similarities in family structure, interpersonal relationships, time orientation, value systems, and spending patterns, all of which were new concepts and ideas to the American public.

One year later, in 1962, Michael Harrington in his book The Other America drew further attention to the poor, focusing on the nature and extent of American poverty as well as pointing out discrepancies of poverty statistics.

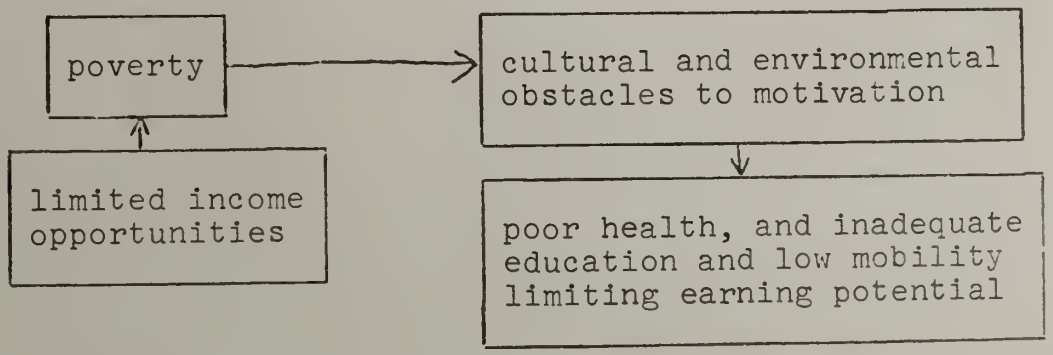
> The famous Census undercount in 1960 left out about 6 million Americans, mainly black Americans living in Northern cities, many were not even enumerated. Their lives were so marginal--no permanent address, no mail, no phone number, no regular job--that they did not even achieve the dignity of being a statistic (p. xiii).

Harrington emphasized that publicized figures should be looked at with caution, stating that16 million Americans are one illness, one accident, or one recession away from being poor again (p. xiii). Harrington warned his readers to watch out for a reproduction of slanted and lowered official statistics

in the 1970s, citing the President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs findings which pointed out that even though national figures had shown that 36% of families between 1965 and 1966 were escaping poverty, the fact was that 34% of other families were falling back into poverty (pp. xiii-xiv).

In the 1960s, poverty was recognized despite distorted governmental census figures and statistics. "By the mid 1960s a number of sociologists had managed to make the transition from ignorance or indifference to the reality of poverty . . ." (Roach and Roach, 1972, p. 11). Dwight MacDonald (1963) wrote an article in The New Yorker further spreading the word that nearly one of every four Americans was living in poverty. Theodore Sorenson read the article and gave a copy to President Kennedy; it became the trigger that started Kennedy's advisors moving. Walter Heller, the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors to the President, submitted the following chart based on the Committee's findings:

Poverty Cycle (not in chronological order) (Moynihan, 1968-69, p. 9)



In September, 1963, President Kennedy appointed a Cabinet-level Task Force on Manpower and Conservation. Shortly after President Kennedy's assassination, the Task Force reported that psychological and physical examinations revealed one-third of the nation's youth was unqualified for military service, primarily due to poverty (Donovan, 1967).

While this was happening on the administrative level, research coupled with the growing Civil Rights movement had documented the degree to which racial discrimination had been responsible for poverty. By 1960, the major shift of the black population from the rural south to urban areas had occurred. This meant that there was a substantial black population crowded into the northern cities, living in poverty conditions. A violent and angry mood began to grow in cities across the nation.

In January, 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson officially recognized the poverty problem and declared his "unconditional war" on poverty in his State of the Union Message. The intent of the administration was to wage a "total war on poverty" in order to eliminate it completely and restructure American society. In conjunction with this new focus, the Council of Economic Advisors devoted a portion of its annual report to poverty. Despite this new concerted effort and the newly adopted goals, there was still no federal consensus regarding policies of programs to actually win "the war."

One main strategy at this time was advocated by Saul

Alinsky, who had been advancing his ideas since 1946. Alinsky encouraged the Federal government to assist the poor to organize their own groups to combat their own poverty and hence gain the necessary power to become equals in society (Ryan, 1971). (The foundations of Alinksy's theories were later expanded upon by many activist black leaders such as Stokely Carmichael (1967), Charles Hamilton (1967), and Kenneth Clark (1967).)

A second main program was suggested by Daniel Moynihan (1968-69). He assumed that poor people differed in some respects from people not living in poverty. He further argued that those differences were based upon individual deficiencies rather than cultural differences, and could be overcome by providing remedial services. Moynihan therefore advocated the expansion of educational and training services for the poor in order to assist them in securing jobs. This, he thought, would help impoverished people join the American mainstream. Substantiating Moynihan's ideas was a prestigious national organization of business executives and academicians, the Committee for Economic Development.

By 1964, the beginnings of a more sophisticated outlook on poverty began to appear on a federal level. The Economic Report of the President read:

> Poverty breeds poverty. A poor individual or family has a high probability of staying poor. Low incomes carry with them high risks of illness, limitations of mobility, limited access to education,

> information access to education and limited training. Poor parents cannot give their children opportunities for better health and education needed to improve their lot. Lack of motivation, hope, and incentive is a more subtle but not less powerful barrier than lack of financial means. Thus the cruel legacy of parents is passed from parents to children (Economic Report of the President, 1964).

Between January and March of 1964, the Economic Opportunity Act was quickly developed by a small body of advisors remaining from Kennedy's administration and retained in Johnson's executive branch. Congress ratified the EOA quickly in the summer of 1964 with relatively few revisions to the Executive proposal.

A policy labelled Title II, Part A, Section 202 (a) (3) passed only because it initially went unnoticed. It reads.

> The term "community action program" means a program . . . which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of groups served (Roach and Roach, 1972, p. 129).

This section of the legislation was the basis for future community action programs and received little discussion or attention until governmental philosophical and ideological differences began to surface. Despite the passage of this section, some experts declared the bill inadequate. Elinor Graham wrote:

> Under this new "strategy of attack," aid to the poor is, in theory, provided in the nature of a new and expanded "opportunity environment." Such aid is primarily directed toward the youth and employ-

> able heads of families; it will not reach the really critical poverty categories--the aged, female heads of households, and poor families--except in the form of improvements in the surrounding physical and economic environments of welfare and health services . . . . Those Americans are not in a physical or family position which allows them to earn their way out of poverty. They will not be immediately aided by the programs under the War on Poverty (Seligman, 1965, p. 214).

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was established as part of the Executive Office of the President. This body had broad coordinating responsibilities for poverty programs including organizing community action agencies, providing job training services, educational programs, legal aid, medical programs, and aiding migrant workers. In order to expedite overcoming the problem of poverty and offset the reluctance of various agencies in local and state governments to implement the programs, OEO bypassed time-consuming local and state governmental agencies to service the poor. In doing this, OEO antogonized federal departments such as the Department of Labor; the Department of Agriculture; the Department of Interior; and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. OEO also initially upset many established political leaders on the state level, especially mayors. Consequently, the War on Poverty upset so many Americans that it:

> provided the incentive needed for the eventual dilution of most of the programs through outright termination, inadequate funding, or pressure to change some to the point that they no longer fulfilled the purposes for which they had been established. In fact the degree to which individual

> provisions of the War on Poverty were altered under public attack correlated directly with the degree to which these same provisions attacked American values (Kershaw, 1970, p. 161).

Because the American population felt threatened, the original intention that the poor would plan community programs had, by 1965, transformed to their carrying out specific programs implemented by experts. Five years later, in retrospect, analysts agreed that "most poor people have had no contact with it (The War on Poverty) except perhaps to hear the promises of a better life to come" (Ulmer, 1969, p. 67).

It was meaningful in the 1960s for the United States Government to finally admit that there were a significant number of poverty stricken citizens. By no means did this recognition eliminate American poverty or the problems that accompany it, yet it was a first major national attempt to rectify the problem. Melville Ulmer said in The Welfare State:

> Add the general affluence of the nation to this welfare colossus, and it becomes all the more difficult to believe that poverty, in any significant dimension, can remain a grim and stubborn reality. Yet as the decade of the 1960s drew to a close, the number classified as poor by official governmental standards . . . embraced more than one-tenth of the total population (Ulmer, 1969, p. 67).

The Poverty Stricken: Realities

The condition of poverty has many facets and affects individuals and families in almost all areas of their lives.

Some of the characteristics of poverty are: not participating in or being integrated in the mainstream of the larger society institutions; earning low wages; frequently being unemployed; being underemployed and therefore earning minimal incomes; lacking the ownership of property; having no accumulated savings; having no food resources; being chronically short of cash; having lower educational attainments than the national norm; receiving inferior educations; not belonging to political parties; residing in poor housing facilities; residing in crowded areas; being employed at the lowest level of skills such as domestic service, unskilled labor, menial jobs, and factory labor; and receiving inadequate health services.

Despite the extremely negative effects of such conditions, the United States does not yet provide the necessary services to offset poverty. In 1971 Michael Harrington wrote in a new introduction to his book, The Other America:

> In every critical area--food, housing, education, and other societal responsibilities, the U.S. provides its worst-off citizens only a percentage of what they desperately need. And since half of the poor are young people destined to enter a sophisticated economy at an enormous disadvantage, unless countermeasures are taken the children of this generation's impoverished will become parents of an even larger Other America (Harrington, 1962, p. ix-x).

An excerpt from Robert Coles' testimony (1969) before the U.S. Senatorial Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs agrees with Harrington's point of view and reads as follows:

> . . . two years ago, with five other physicians, I helped present some observations we all made to the US Senate Subcommittee on employment, manpower, and poverty. We declared we had seen in the State of Mississippi not only extreme poverty, but gross, clinical evidence of chronic hunger and malnutrition--evidence that we as doctors found it hard to deal with ourselves, let alone talk about, because we had been unprepared in our own medical training for what we saw. Today's American physicians are simply not prepared by their education to expect to find in this nation severe vitamin deficiency diseases, widespread parasitism, and among infants, a mortality rate that is comparable, say, to the underdeveloped nations of Asia or Africa . . .
>
> In Mississippi, almost two years after this issue of hunger and malnutrition was first brought to the attention of the American public--I repeat almost two years later--I saw once again in several counties, including ones visited by us six physicians in 1967, malnourished children, children who are not getting the right amount and kinds of food, who suffer from several diseases and see no physician, who indeed were born in shacks without the help of a doctor and under conditions that are primitive, to say the least, and to say it without the anger and outrage that are by any civilized standards utterly warranted.
>
> Why, two years later, must these children still go hungry, still be sick? Why must families essentially without money be asked to pay for food stamps with money they don't have? Why do American children get born without the help of a doctor, and never see a doctor in their lives? It is awful, it is humiliating for all of us that these questions still have to be asked in a nation like this, the strongest and richest nation that ever was . . . .
>
> I do not understand why these things have to persist and why we have to talk about this again and again and again, and people like me have to come and repeat all of these findings which have been buried in the medical literature for years and years.

A summation of various definitions shows that poverty is commonly defined as a lack of basic needs. As our economy

grows, the question naturally becomes "What are those basic needs?" There is a basic consensus that persons deprived to the extent that their physical survival is threatened are poor. Beyond that, what is a necessity? For example, in various families living on a level of subsistence in Minnesota or North Dakota the nearest school is sometimes as far away as 40 miles. Consequently if children or adults are to be educated, a car is required. Another example of need is an individual applying for a job. Certainly clothing is enough to permit mobility on the streets, but for a job interview or even a job itself, one must have 'appropriate dress.'

In conclusion, poverty can be looked at as relative to the rest of the society. People who are in relative deprivation may be considered poor. John Kenneth Galbraith maintains:

> . . . people are poverty-stricken when their income, even if adequate for survival, falls markedly behind that of the community. Then they can't have what the larger community regards as the minimum necessary for human decency; and they cannot wholly escape the judgment of the larger community that they are indecent. They are degraded in the literal sense, for they live outside the grades or categories which the community regards as acceptable . . . . (Jones, 1972, p. 6).

The Poor and Money

Using Robert Lampan's research from the 1950s, the Council of Economic Advisors demarcated a rough measure of poverty as a family with an income less than $3000 a year. This

was a truly rough measure since neither family size nor geographical location was accounted for. In the early sixties the Social Security Administration, under the auspices of Mollie Orshansky, utilized the Department of Agriculture's Economy Food Plan as a base figure to draw more sophisticated poverty guidelines. A figure of three was used to calculate the "poverty line" because it was estimated that an average family spends one-third of its budget on food. (This accounted only for basic foods.) Subsequently, in January, 1964, the Economy Plan provided $4.60 per person per week or 22¢ a meal and the "line" was set at $3100. In 1967 it was $4.90 a week with a four-person family being poor if its income was below $3,335 a year. Then, in 1969, the Department of Commerce announced the cheerful news that the poverty line had been moved up to $3,553 a year due to increases in the cost of living on the Consumer Price Index. In that same year, the median American family income was $8,632 for all families and $10,113 for year-round full-time workers with families. One-half of $8,632 is $4,316, or $600 more than the HEW poverty line (Harrington, 1962, pp. xi and xii). A year later, in 1970, the "line" had increased to $3,720 per year for a family of four, averaging out to 85¢ per person per day, most assuredly a subsistence standard of living in 1970. (Stein, 1971).

The following is an example of how much public assistance is alloted to recipients in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the year 1971 (Law, 1974, pp. 140-141).

MASSACHUSETTS

(eligible family of 4) AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN	(eligible couple) OLD AGE ASSIST-ANCE	(eligible family of 4) GEN-ERAL AS-SISTANCE	(eligible family of 4) AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN	PERMITTED RESOURCES	RELATIVE RESPONSIBILITY	MEDICAID ELIGIBILITY
$318.40	$246.60	$245.10	$336.60	homestead allowed; personal property to $2,000 per individual in AB programs; $1,000/ADC family; $1,000 other individual life insurance to $1,000	adult children responsible for parents; brother and sister responsible for each other	All children under 21; medically needy people whose income and resources after deducting medical expenses are less than the specified amount--people who have enough for daily living but not enough for medical expenses; people who are in a medical facility (except for TB and mental diseases) who once leaving the facility would be eligible.

Periods of inflation in the United States greatly affect the poor. As cost of living has been increasing and incomes have correspondingly been gradually climbing, the poor have been left behind in a growing poverty. Federal assistance programs and wages for the unskilled or semiskilled do not adequately consider national economic trends; therefore they indirectly sanction the poor to become more deeply entrenched in their conditions. An example of this can be seen by looking at 1970 figures. For a family of four at that time $10,000 was considered a 'modest' level of income. For a family of four receiving public assistance, the income was $3,700 a year, or a difference of $6,300. Therefore, families of four who happened to be poor in 1970, and who happen to be poor now, are living on far under what is considered a 'modest' income, and are engaged in a continuous struggle to fulfill their basic needs, which becomes even more difficult as the cost of living keeps rising.

The Poor Do Exist

Referring to statistics, Michael Harrington (1962) stated "And the official thinkers and statisticians are even winning paper victories over poverty and making the poor invisible" (p. xxviii). He estimated that there were 40-60 million Americans or 25% of the population who were poor, while government figures claimed that poverty ranged from only 17-23% of the total population (James, 1972). It is

difficult to measure the extent and diversity of poverty which, as mentioned earlier, tends to make poor people become "invisible," especially under the camouflage of government statistics. After extensive work, Myrdal found that if poverty was defined as an income of $4000 or less for a multiperson family, or $2000 or less for a single unattached individual, 38 million Americans, or one-fifth of the nation, were impoverished, and another 7%, or 12 million, lived in utter destitution, earning one-half the stipulated poverty income or less. In defining depirvation as an income of $4000 to $6000 for a multiperson family or $2000 to $4000 for a single unattached inidividual, Myrdal found that 39 million more Americans, or another one-fifth of the population, suffered from deprivation. Consequently, 51.5 million persons, or two-fifths of the U.S. population, suffer from serious economic hardship (James, 1972).

Some of these people do attempt to receive public assistance because of the lack of available alternatives. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, prompted by nationwide riots, investigated the numbers of people who actually do receive assistance and reported their findings to the President and the nation on March 1, 1968. Detroit, New Haven, and Newark were the three cities where violence was most destructive in 1967. The Commission stated that the median percentage of those eligible who actually participated in public assistance programs in the three cities were only

33%, or one-third of the population, implying that the majority of eligible poor do not receive public assistance at all. The Office of the President Report in 1967 pointed out that more dollars were used to investigate cheating in the welfare system than to fund programs such as Head Start. It was further pointed out that families may rightfully have rejected welfare because the national average for welfare payments was only a little more than one-half the need, and in some cases one-quarter the need for poor families (Harrington, 1962). The Commission also concluded that the welfare system excluded large numbers of people who were in great need and imposed restrictions that encouraged continued dependence on the system itself. Furthermore the welfare system undermined individual levels of self respect (Urban Coalition, 1969).

In summary not only is poverty a substantial dilemma in the American society, but the problem is severely distorted by government statistics. Findings demonstrate that public assistance programs do not adequately meet the needs of poor people. As many as two-thirds of poor people who are eligible for public assistance do not receive it. Further evaluations show that the federal system providing public assistance is degrading, dehumanizing, and fosters a sense of dependence in the recipients.

The Myths of Poverty

There are several commonplace myths that have been attached to poor people which focus on such issues as why 'they' are poor, why 'they' remain poor, what 'they' do to keep receiving those 'magical' welfare benefits, etc. Ironically, not one of the predominant myths is substantiated by fact. In this section the author will proceed to examine and discuss some of these basic myths.

1. The poor have more children in order to receive welfare benefits.

Social science research shows that poor people do not plan children in order to secure welfare eligibility. To begin with, welfare payments provide inadequate subsistence standards of living. If welfare payments are looked at more closely, one can see that they diminish with each additional child, clearly illustrating that the payments themselves are not the incentive. Polls taken with welfare mothers indicate that poor mothers, especially Black and Puerto Rican mothers, want fewer children than do higher income White mothers (Jones, 1972). In fact, 70-90% of the mothers living in impoverished conditions who were interviewed in various studies wished to obtain contraceptive information and devices to stop pregnancies--they wanted NO more children (Shostak, 1965).

2. There are large numbers of able-bodied men who loaf

while receiving welfare benefits.

Looking closer statistically, one can see that this is not the case at all. In 1967, there were 7.3 million U.S. citizens receiving welfare checks. Of this total, 2.1 million were 65 years old or older (mostly women), 3.5 million were children under the age of 18, and 900,000 were mothers of these children. Out of the total 7.3 million recipients this left a total of 150,000 men between the ages of 18 and 65, of whom two-thirds were incapacitated. Thus, only 50,000 or less than 1% of Americans on welfare were potentially employable males, with a vast majority lacking substantial job experience, job training, skills, or the necessary education to obtain employment (Jones, 1972).

3. Poor people have enough money to buy luxuries for which the middle class must work.

Studies show that poor people's possessions are obtained primarily through credit at high interest rates. In addition the merchandise they buy is usually of inferior quality at inflated prices (Jones, 1972). That the poor are victims of financial enterprise is illustrated clearly by David Caplovitz (1967) in his book The Poor Pay More. In a study done in New York City, Caplovitz pointed out such things as how merchants in low-income areas completely ignore installment contracts (if they are used at all), how merchants intention-

ally do not differentiate between the cost of the product and the cost of the credit, how the duration of payments is often neglected while the small initial down payment and minimal cost of installments are emphasized and how inferior merchandise is often marked up as high as 200-300%. Other books which illustrate similar realities of the poor as consumers are Jacobus TenBrock's (1966) The Law of the Poor, and Robert Conot's (1961) Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness.

4. Welfare deprives young men of the work ethic.

In a recent study, Leonard Goodwin (1972) selected a total of 4,410 persons from varied socio-economic backgrounds. He found that welfare recipients have life aspirations as high as those individuals who are steadily employed. He further found that welfare recipients have the same work ethic as the middle class. Both short term and long term welfare recipients, and people who were steadily employed identified work with feelings of self-respect. Goodwin's results further illustrated that teenage males from fatherless homes who have received public assistance all their lives nevertheless still maintained strong work ethics. From his study, Goodwin also concluded that welfare mothers exert strong influence on their sons' orientation, which in turn contributes to the sons' higher aspirations and strong work ethic. This is contrasted to middle class parents, who were found to exert negligible influence on their sons.

Characteristics of All Families and Poor Families in the U.S., 1971

The chart on page 37 should be analyzed, keeping in mind the limitations previously mentioned about government statistics on poverty. The incidence of poverty reported in this chart is 10%, a figure far below many other figures collected by agencies other than the federal government. This chart is a helpful mechanism for statistical purposes and a detailed general overview.

Of the total number of poor families (5,303,000), 70% are white, and 30% are nonwhite. This is disproportionate because about 8% of the entire white population lives in poverty while 27% of the total nonwhite population is poor. This chart specifies that 60% of the families are headed by males, 34% reside in inner cities, 22% reside in the suburbs, and 44% live in non-metropolitan areas. 20% of the families are headed by elderly persons, 66% by people between the ages of 25 and 64, and 13% under the age of 25. According to the U.S. Government, 45% of the members of poor families did not work, 13% worked part time, and the other 42% worked full time but were still unable to rise above poverty level. Although figures estimate that there is only 10% poverty in America, it is interesting to note that this encompasses one-third of all households headed by females. 30% of all families headed by non-workers are poor, and 23% of part time workers are poor.

Characteristics of All Families and of Poor Families in United States, 1971*

	All families		Poor families		Incidence of Poverty
	#**	%	#**	%	
Total	53,246	100.0	5,305	100.0	10.0
Sex of head					
Male	47,105	88.4	3,203	60.4	6.8
Female	6,191	11.6	2,100	39.6	33.9
Race of head					
White	47,641	87.4	3,751	70.7	7.9
Nonwhite	5,655	10.6	1.552	29.3	27.4
Work experience of Head					
In armed forces	1,020	1.9	72	1.4	7.1
Did not work	8,108	15.2	2,422	45.7	29.9
Worked full time	41,055	77.0	2,082	38.3	5.1
Worked part time	3,133	5.9	727	13.7	23.4
Residence					
Central City	16,114	30.2	1,781	33.6	11.1
Suburb	20,382	38.2	1,189	22.4	5.8
Nonmetropolitan	16,800	31.5	2,333	44.0	13.9
Age of Head					
Under 25	3,993	7.5	719	13.6	18.0
25-64	41,816	78.5	3,522	66.4	8.4
65 and over	7,487	14.0	1,063	20.0	14.2

*U.S. Bureau of Census, 1972, p. 60.

**millions

White and "Nonwhite"

The chart on page 37 indicating characteristics of the poor is similar to most other census charts in the sense that race is broken into a white category and a lumped together amorphous category entitled "nonwhites." Nonwhites happen to include 12% Blacks, 2% Mexican Americans, 5% Puerto Ricans, .5% Orientals, and .25% American Indian people (Jones, 1972). This conglomeration of peoples lumped together for statistical purposes is erroneous and racist. For example, in the late 1960s the U.S. Government determined life expectancy rates at 67.6 years for white males and 60.7 years for nonwhite males. If "nonwhite" males had been examined in separate racial groups, it would have been evident that Indians have the shortest life span (42 years), while within the Indian grouping Eskimos have a life expectancy of only 35 years (James, 1972). It is interesting to note that Indians rely heavily on federal support, yet because of malnutrition and disease their life expectancy is among the lowest of all ethnic groups. This is only one example showing the importance of careful examination of all racial groupings individually rather than as a conglomerate "nonwhite" category. Better understanding of the true implications of racism and a more accurate picture of poverty in America result from more detailed examination.

Income by Race and Sex

Both women and minorities are victims of a system that maintains and perpetuates poverty. Even education does not alleviate the problem: women with Ph.D.'s earn an average of $2000 less than their male counterparts (James, 1972). Black college graduates earned a medium of $13.00 more per year than white high school graduates, while their income was only 75% that of white college graduates. Blacks with eight years or less of school also earned 75% of what whites with the same education earned (Urban Coalition, 1969).

Studies show that women earn less income than men, and minorities earn less income than whites. In 1970, the Department of Labor found an urban family of four needed $10,644 to achieve a moderate level of income. Coupled with this, the Department of Labor found the following:

mean income of white men	$10,634	
mean income of black men	$ 6,773	
mean income of white women	$ 5,965	
mean income of black women	$ 4,943	(Law, 1974)

Both black and white women earned less than males of their respective races, while blacks of both sexes earned less than whites of the same sex. Thus, if one is either a woman or black, the income is less and the likelihood of being poor is greater.

Despite these figures, income for all black families rose sharply throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. In 1969, the average black family earned $5,623 but this was only 68%

of an average white family. 33% of all blacks in cities lived on $4000 or less a year, while only 16% of all urban whites had a similar low income level. More than two-thirds of all black families from urban areas lived on $8000 or less while less than one-half of the white urban population earned less than $8000 (Urban Coalition, 1969). "At the end of 1963, blacks owned or controlled only thirteen banks, fifty life insurance companies, and thirty-four federally insured savings and loan associations, with combined assets totaling $764 million or only 0.12 percent of the total assets of financial institutions in the country" (Knowles and Prewitt, 1969, p. 16).

The incomes of American Indians are even lower, with 1969 statistics showing that the average family lived on $1500 a year (James, 1972). This related to the fact that the government does not provide suitable educational resources --50% of all Indians, who are predominantly educated on government reservations, are illiterate. Coupled with illiteracy is the unemployment situation, which is seven times the national average for American Indians (R. Clark, 1970). Furthermore, per capita income of Alaskan Eskimos is less than half that of white Alaskans (James, 1972).

Another "nonwhite" minority, the Mexican Americans, has the second largest minority population--a total of 3-1/2 million people live in poverty; they earned less than $3000 per year during the 1960s, while two-thirds of those earning

$3000 or less were migrant workers living on less than $1000 a year (Jones, 1972).

Of 157,000 Puerto Rican working men and women, 10.7% earned less than the federal minimum wage in 1969, causing more Puerto Rican people to exist in unemployable situations than any other group of people. 26.2% were unemployed for 5-14 weeks, while over one-quarter, or 27.4%, were out of work from 15 weeks or more. The situation of the Puerto Rican worker is comparable to the worst rate of unemployment in the history of the United States when in 1933 the country was at the bottom of the Depression (James, 1972).

Studies relevant to Chineses Americans are sparse, but one 1969 study did look closely at the highest concentrations of people in New York City, Boston, and San Francisco. In New York City, data showed that employment rates were high and pay was very low. Chinese Americans were found working cheaply in restaurants, laundries, cloth or garment factories or as unskilled laborers. 15% worked 49-59 hours a week and another 20% worked 60 hours a week or more. In addition, over 70% of all women in Chinese American families were working to compensate for the low wages paid to their husbands or the man in the family.

In conclusion, statistics show that women generally earn less than similarly qualified or less qualified men, and minorities generally earn less than similarly qualified or less qualified whites. Despite an increase in yearly income by

blacks their earnings are still significantly below that of whites. Studies also depict large percentages of Mexican Americans, American Indians, and Puerto Ricans existing in impoverished conditions. Chinese Americans are the highest employed of all the minority groups, but are found in unskilled jobs working overly long hours, and often with the female of the household working in addition to the male to substantiate low incomes.

Women and Their Children

From another non-federal source, poverty in American is estimated at 26.1 million. Of this number, 10.7 million children under the age of 18 live in poverty (James, 1972). Figures indicate that 80% of the female-headed households have at least one child under the age of 18, while 50% have at least one preschool child. In addition, 60% of all poor children are found in families with four or more children (Stein, 1971).

Of families headed by women with dependent children, 36% were shown poor among "nonwhites" (James, 1972).

> In 1969 almost 50% of all employed white women heading poor families and 75% of non-white women heading poor families worked in service occupations, one of the lowest paid groups. This again leads to the conclusion that women in our society are considered to be inferior, are more apt to be poor, and seem to be discriminated against in hiring and salary policies (Roach and Roach, 1972).

Rural and Urban Poverty

The rural poor comprise a group of people who fall in different categories: some own their land, some are tenant farmers, some are hired help and some are migrant farm workers. The rural poor are predominantly white with a substantial proportion of southern blacks and Mexican Americans concentrated in the southwest, American Indians on reservation land, and Puerto Rican migrant workers in the East. One-fourth of all persons living on farm land in the U.S. are categorized as poor. One group of the amorphous "nonwhite" popularion, the Indians (who live on government land), exist in the poorest housing conditions with 90% below the minimum standards of health, safety, and human decency (James, 1972).

In 1968, approximately one-half of all the poor people in America lived in metropolitan areas. Two-thirds of these people inhabited the central cities; another one-third lived on the outskirts in the suburbs. An interesting point is that over 90% of the impoverished population living in the suburbs is relatively invisible. Subsequently no studies have been done with them and little information is know about them (James, 1972).

The central cities are composed of primarily 43% black and 57% white. Puerto Ricans live mainly in the East with 75% of all their people on the US mainland in New York City. The American Chinese are mostly located in San Francisco, New York, and Boston while three-fourths of the Mexican American

people live in urban areas in the states of California, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, and Arizona.

One-third of all black people live in heavy concentration in the 12 largest cities: Washington D.C. is over two-thirds black, Newark, New Jersey, is over one-half black; Baltimore and St. Louis are over one-third black; Chicago and Philadelphia are nearly one-third black (James, 1971). To illustrate how crowded some of the cities are, the Civil Rights Commission (1959) stated, "If the population density of some of Harlem's worst blacks was obtained in the rest of NYC, the entire population of the United States could fit into three of NYC's Boroughs."

In summary most poor people in America live in metropolitan areas. 25% of all people living in farm areas are poor and most of the rural poor are white. The inner cities are made up of approximately 43% blacks and 57% whites. Ethnic minorities are located primarily in certain urban areas: 75% of all Puerto Ricans on the mainland live in New York City; 75% of all Mexican Americans live in urban areas in California, New Mexico, Texas, Nevada, and Arizona; most of Chinese Americans live in San Francisco, New York, and Boston; and Blacks reside primarily in 12 of the largest American cities.

Health and Poverty

Poverty affects every aspect of life for those who are poor; it especially affects the basic human physical condi-

tion. Studies continue to document the causal relationship between poverty and ill health. Several sources have clearly linked the following diseases to poverty: malnutrition; prenatal death; infant mortality; communicable dieases such as venereal diseases related to weakened physical organs; organ dysfunction, such as rheumatic fever, heart disease, cardiovascular disorders, and visual impairment; cancer; problems generally associated with old age like rheumatism or arthritis; physical disabilities; multiple disabilities, disorders and diseases; dental problems; peridontal diseases; and mental illness. Simple diseases like measles and mumps are seen with 50% more frequency in city clums than in other areas of the same city. Rheumatic fever is 60% higher in city slums, and hepatitis, menningitis, and encephalitis are more prevalent in impoverished urban areas. Such diseases as food poisoning and venereal diseases are 100% higher in poor urban dwellings than in wealthier parts of the city (R. Clark, 1970). Heart disease, too, is three times more common in poor families (Yette, 1971).

Dr. Lester Breslow, former President of the American Public Health Association, and Dr. Paul Cornely, new President elect of APHA, went across the country inspecting medical and health systems set up by state and federal programs which purported to deal with the problem of poverty. They wrote that the problem simply "skirts disaster and does little to alleviate underlying problems (Hearings Before the

Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs of U.S. Senate, 1969, pp. 5536-5538).

The infant mortality rate in America was higher than that of 13 other countries as recently as 1971. "These relative low readings are explained in part by an uneven distribution of health services in the US which results in greater incidence of poor health among low income groups" (Roach and Roach, 1972, p. 112). It is important to notice that the "nonwhite" infant mortality rate is twice as high as that of whites (Roach and Roach, 1972). Infant and fetal deaths in urban ghettos are twice as high as those in the rest of the city (R. Clark, 1970). Related to this, 45% of all low income women who deliver babies in public hospitals have had no prenatal care (Yette, 1971).

Studies show that children in families with incomes less than $3000 per year see physicians 2.6 times a year, as compared to 4.4 times a year is cases of children in families with incomes over $10,000 per year. This is due to a lack of transportion, lack of education about illness, lack of money, lack of time due to strenous working conditions, and a reluctance by many doctors to treat patients with questionable ability to pay fees. At least these children do get to see doctors, even if minimally; but more than 20% of all persons in families with incomes below $3000 a year have <u>never</u> even seen a dentist (Yette, 1971).

The President's Commission on Income Maintenance Programs

(1969) stated about low income health care,

> The care they do receive is often too late and of low quality. Yet the relative need for health care is greater among those groups--infants, expectant mothers, and the elderly--which form a disproportionate share of the population in poverty. (p. 19)

Despite their greater need, the poor must depend on the government to provide necessary medical and dental care that still does not meet their needs. Dr. Robert Ebert, Dean of Harvard Medical School wrote,

> In every area that relates to health the poor are deprived. They are less well informed than other social groups about general health patterns, they depend more upon lay advice, and they are relatively powerless in the medical care system. That part of the population who can afford the price can purchase directly, or indirectly via insurance, fee-for-service medicine and can expect some influence over the system, but the poor are dependent to a significant degree on clinic medicine which tends to be fragmented, dehuamnized, and lacking in continuity. Not only does the poverty group receive a different quality of care for physical illness but even the stresses and anxieties associated with illness are treated differentially according to social class. Medical care is a middle class commodity and the poor are discriminated against medically just as they are educationally (Kosa, Antonovsky, and Zola, 1969, pp. vi-vii).

Not only is current medical care a middle class commodity, but on an even more basic human level, food has also reflected America's attitude towards the poor. The failure of federal efforts to provide well balanced proper diets is another indication that America is neglecting low income citizens. In 1970, The New York Times published an article

about the ramifications of American hunger, tying in the failure of the nation to feed the poor with policies of the Department of Agriculture. A section of the article read, " . . . consequences of a political and economic system that spends billions to remove food from the market, to limit productions, to retire land from production, to guarantee and sustain profits for the procedure" (New York Times, April 30, 1970, 20:4). Senator George McGovern (1969) released to the press the results of the National Nutrition Survey. The survey closely studied people in the lowest fourth of all income brackets in ten states. The study was conducted by a specially trained medical team. Their findings showed that hunger and malnutrition in the richest nation in the world, the United States, are as severe as in some of the poorest nations; 34% of the preschool children examined exhibited anemia which causes "listlessness, fatigue, or inability to perform." For example, in Texas goiter is, by World Health Organization standards endemic. (Goiter is a disease that can be prevented by expending .25¢ per person per year and which was thought to be extinct in the United States.) It was also found that growth retardation which is often coupled with permanent brain damage is common, that Vitamin A deficiency unknown to any children who drink milk afflicts 33% of children under 5 years of age, that children have rickets, scurvy, beriberi, and marasmus kuashrorkar, which are all diseases common in newly developing countries and are usually associated with famine

and starvation (Yette, 1971).

All of these nutritional deficiencies result in brain damage, premature births, and infant mortality. (Mothers are often severely undernourished and have not seen a physician or even a midwife until delivery.) Coupled with frequent illness, increased malnutrition, crowded and unsanitary living conditions, and a lack of periodic medical attention, protein deficiencies can also retard brain growth in early childhood. George McGovern (1969) reported that as many as 50% of these babies may be born with an intellectual competence significantly below that of other infants; they may have a decreased learning ability and retarded body growth. Slower rates of maturation may affect their full grown size and their productivity through life; finally, they may undergo premature death. All these health variables add to the poverty cycle, increasing the likelihood that poor people will remain poor.

Studies show that the rate of mental illness among poor people is also high. Treatment for psychiatric problems is usually reserved for people from high income brackets who have enough money to spend on services other than those needed for basic human survival. In 1958, Hollingshead and Redlich conducted a careful research project in New Haven, Connecticut, dividing the entire city into five social classes to look at the rate of mental illness in each social stratum. They divided the classes in the following manner:

Class

I. rich, usually aristocratic
II. executives, professionals, more newly arrived to prestige and power
III. middle class
IV. workers in decent-paying jobs
V. poor; one-half semiskilled, one-half unskilled, men commonly with six years or less of education, women commonly with eight years or less of education

The results of the study showed the numbers of people in each class who required some type of psychiatric assistance.

Class	Rate of Psychiatric Illness
I.	536 per 100,000
II.	536 per 100,000
III.	538 per 100,000
IV.	642 per 100,000
V.	659 per 100,000 (Harrington, 1962, pp. 129-130).

Their findings illustrated a sharp difference in the rate of psychiatric illness between classes IV and V whereas classes I, II, and III were close in the rate of psychiatric illness per 100,000 people. It can be speculated that this wide gulf between classes IV and V is indicative of the separation between working class Americans who have some sense of dignity, pride, and security, and impoverished Americans who parallel the poor in underdeveloped and newly developed countries. Hollingshead and Redlich also concluded that mental health is not only expressed in the numbers but in the extent of illness. In classes I and II, 65% of those found mentally ill were treated for neurotic problems while only 35% were treat-

ed for more severe disturbances of psychosis. But in class V, 90% of those with psychiatric illness were treated for psychosis while only 10% were treated for neurosis. Hollingshead and Redlich concluded that both the rate and the intensity of mental illness for the poor were much greater.

In conclusion studies repeatedly demonstrate the relationship of poverty to physical and mental illness. Physical diseases afflicting poor people with a greater frequency than higher income people range from simple ailments like mumps and measles to more complex, sometimes multiple disorders, diseases and disabilities such as heart disease, cardiovascular disease, visual problems, cancer, venereal diseases, rheumatic fever, etc. Higher rates of mental illness as well as more intense mental disorders have been found among poor people.

Several reasons seem to create and sustain these conditions. One is the fact that most poor children have never seen dentists. A second reason also relates to the lack of medical care--poor children visit doctors almost half as often as other children. This is due to the lack of transportation, the lack of education and knowledge, the lack of money, the lack of time due to strenuous working hours by parents, and the lack of receptivity by doctors who are skeptical of welfare patients and welfare payments.

A third reason is based on food--poor people in America suffer from hunger and malnutrition and they consequently

have diseases similar to people in some of the poorest countries in the world. Nutritional deficiencies cause brain damage, higher rates of infant mortality, premature births, slower rates of physical maturation, and premature deaths. A fourth reason relates to the fact that medical care for the poor is not preventative, but instead mitigates immediate symptoms. Consequently the physical and mental diseases and ill health for the poor continue, with the society ignoring the roots of the problem.

The Poor Live Somewhere

Poor, crowded, and inadequate housing is another condition fitting into the whole picture of improper medical care, unemployment, inferior education, nutritional deficiencies, and ill health.

> Millions of poor live in substandard squalid housing. The shanties and shacks found in rural areas often look like remnants from an earlier era. . . . The barrenness of housing of the urban poor sometimes hidden behind the facade of ordinary looking row houses. Yet the interior may reveal serious decay-falling plaster, holes in the wall, gaps in the window frames, rats, and roaches, and deteriorated plumbing . . . . The physical condition of the homes and neighborhoods in which the poor live and the crowding that often occurs have severe effects on health, as well as on social and behavioral patterns. The struggle to meet basic physical needs under depressing and frustrating living conditions undermines attempts to escape from poverty . . . (Roach and Roach, 1972, p. 113).

The cities are continuing to become more overcrowded de-

spite prevalent conditions. By 1970 the central core of America's cosmopolitan areas contained 34% of all blacks in the nation (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1972). Not only are the housing conditions poor, but the prices are higher in the ghetto. The Kerner Commission, after studying "nonwhites" in Newark, New Jersey, reported that "nonwhites" were paying a definite 'color tax' of apparently well over 10% on housing. This condition prevails in most racial ghettos (Knowles and Prewitt, 1969).

One sociologist, Pierre deVise from Depaul University, studied the transition from white to black populations in urban ghettos. He found that certain changes occur in this process. First, rents become depressed as whites begin to leave the areas. Gradually, as blacks move into the neighborhood and become the dominant racial group in the area, rents for the already dilapidated housing exceeds previous rents (Hurst, Jr., 1973, pp. 67-68). This is commonly done by a realty practice called 'blockbusting.' This operation involves the realtor convincing a black family to move into a predominantly white area. The realtor then begins fostering anxiety throughout the white community about the decreasing property value, captializing on this to buy whites' homes at prices below the market value. The agent then resells the same property to minorities at significant profits. Chester Papkin and William Ginby, two real estate economists, revealed that blockbusters usually double their profit in less than

two years (Grier, 1969). The minorities who often face discriminatory employment practices and whose wages are therefore less than the whites they displace, have higher rents, poorer facilities, and fewer funds with which to become mobile and move to other environments. Thus the socio-economic ranking of an area depreciates, the services provided by the city in that area deteriorate, and another slum is in the making (Hurst, Jr., 1972).

deVise compared white housing units to the average black housing units in Chicago in 1970. He found that in black areas, one-half as many of the housing units were likely to be owner occupied, there was five times more dilapidation, substandard living conditions were three times greater, and there was four times more overcrowding. deVise also found that in both rich and poor socio-economic areas there were alarming geographic gaps with the rich whites living almost isolated from the poor blacks (Hurst, Jr., 1972).

Thus, the inhuman condition of many poor people's homes remains unchanged. Metropolitan areas are overcrowded, with substandard housing, with poorer facilities, and with building and apartment owners unlikely to reside in these areas. The rents are likely to be higher for blacks and other minorities than for the whites they displaced. Substandard housing conditions are another vital link in understanding the story of poor in America.

Crime: Who Is the Culprit?

Numerous studies have linked poverty to crime. Ramsey Clark (1970), former Attorney General of the United States, summarizes that 90% or four out of every five crimes flow from situations of extreme poverty. He further asserts that although the worst crimes are inflicted on the people who live in the ghetto, most of the people living there never commit serious crimes. Nevertheless two-thirds of all arrests take place among 2% of the population.

The poor inhabit American jails and juvenile detention centers most frequently. The poverty stricken know no lawyers, have no fees for lawyers even if they do know one, do not have 'middle class' values and backgrounds with which to communicate with lawyers or judges, and therefore they get "busted." It is striking to note that the enforcers of America's law, the police, are predominantly white throughout the major cities in the country despite minority proportions. The following statistics were derived from the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders Report:

Per Cent Nonwhite Police and Per Cent Nonwhite Population of Some Major Cities*

Name of Department	Per Cent of City's Nonwhite Population	Per Cent of Nonwhite Police
Atlanta, Ga.	38	10
Baltimore, Md.	41	7
Boston, Ma.	11	2
Buffalo, N.Y.	18	3
Chicago, Ill.	27	17
Cincinnati, Ohio	28	6
Cleveland, Ohio	34	7
Dayton, Ohio	26	4
Detroit, Mich.	39	5
Hartford, Conn.	20	11
Kansas City, Mo.	20	6
Louisville, Ky.	21	6
Memphis, Tenn.	38	5
Michigan State Police	9	**
New Haven, Conn.	19	7
New Orleans, La.	41	4
New York City, N.Y.	16	5
New Jersey State Police	9	**
Newark, N.J.	40	10
Oakland, Calif.	32	4
Oklahoma City, Okla.	15	4
Philadelphia, Pa.	29	20
Phoenix, Ariz.	8	1
Pittsburgh, Pa.	19	7
St. Louis, Mo.	37	11
San Francisco, Calif.	14	6
Tampa, Fla.	17	3
Washington, D.C.	63	21

*Report on National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1963, p. 321.

**less than .5 per cent.

These figures represent only the total number of police without differentiating between supervisory personnel and regular officers. The percentage of minority administrators, including sergeants, lieutenants, and captains, is far fewer than the percentage of nonwhite regular police. For example, in San Francisco in 1968 out of a total force of 1,754 men, there were no black Lieutenants or captains, and in that year the first black sergeant was named to the force.

Racist practices propogating middle class values can be seen in departments of justice as well as on police forces. Judge George Crockett, Jr., at a conference on Racism in the Law, stated that blacks comprise only 1% of the lawyers in America. This averages out to one black lawyer to every 8,000 people and in the south 1 to 28,000, as compared to national averages of one lawyer for every 625 people. Judges are also underrepresented, with only 65 black state judges as of 1968, making a total of 15 black judges out of every 300 federal judges (Knowles and Prewitt, 1969).

The poor come from an American cultural condition which perpetuates higher death rates, higher infant mortalities, shorter life expectancies, more frequent mental and physical damage by communicable diseases, the poorest educational systems, and areas where alcoholism and drug addiction are the highest in the city. This environment is also ripe for crime. Ramsey Clark (1970) points out,

> The crowding of poor people with their cumulative disadvantages into the urban ghettos of our affluent and technologically advanced society not only offers the easy chance for criminal acts--it causes crimes. The utter wretchedness of the inner city slums, crammed with most sickness, poverty, ignorance, idleness, ugliness, vice, and crime of the whole metropolis; its residents impotent, incapable, incommunicado, and physically isolated by surrounding freeways without exits, slowly drains the compassion from the human spirit and breeds crimes (p. 15).

How does our society cope with these problems of crime? By instituting harsher laws through our legislative bodies? By more stringent judicial penalties? Or by attacking the entire problem, that of poverty? Ramsey Clark (1970) speaks to this point:

> If we are to deal meaningfully with crime, what must be seen is the dehumanizing effect on the individual of slums, racism, ignorance, violence, corruption and impotence to fulfill rights, or poverty and underemployment and idleness, of generations of malnutrition, of congenital brain damage and prenatal neglect, of sickness and disease, of pollution, of decrepit, dirty, ugly, unsafe, overcrowded housing, of alcoholism and narcotics addiction, of avarice, anxiety, fear, hatred, hopelessness, and injustice. These are the fountainheads of crime (p. 15).

To recapitulate, crime is a product of the conditions of poverty. Such noted authorities as the former Attorney General, Ramsey Clark, speculate that 90% of crime stems from situations of extreme poverty and the victims are mostly residents of ghettos. Even so, he adds, most people in the ghettos do not commit crimes.

Minorities are grossly underrepresented on major United

States city police forces, with only handfuls of minority members in administrative positions. In conjunction, one authority estimates only 1% of all American lawyers are black, another gross misrepresentation to population figures.

The judicial system is based on middle class values and creates barriers for low income people such as the lack of money to hire lawyers and the lack of communication skills to communicate with lawyers or judges. Hence the poor dominate American jails and detention centers. To correct the dangers and problems of crime, the society must step back and look at its role in the perpetuation of poverty, and then begin eliminating the conditions that foster crime in our society.

Unemployment and Underemployment

The unemployment problem is another link in the poverty cycle. "The simple fact is that most of the poor remain poor because access to income through work is currently beyond their reach" (Roach and Roach, 1972, p. 114). The US Department of Labor pointed out that over one-third of the people in the nation's poorest neighborhoods of America's 100 largest cities were unemployed during 1970 (Hurst, Jr., 1972).

The President's Commission on Income Maintenace Programs (1969) reported that examining 4-5 million non-aged heads of poor families provided "dramatic" documentation of their limited ability to change their circumstances substantially. Forty-two percent of these heads of the family worked full

time during the year, 40 weeks or more. Another 30% worked part time. The Commission points out that:

> The different degrees of participation in the labor force among the poor seem due to chance more than motivation or other factors. Unemployment or underemployment among the poor are often due to forces that cannot be controlled by the poor themselves (Roach and Roach, 1972, p. 116).

The Commission investigated why the 1-2 million poor non-aged family heads did not work in 1966.

> (1) Nearly half were women who were responsible for young children.
> (2) Another one-third were either ill or disabled and therefore unable to work.
> (3) 40% of the remaining 230,000 were attending school and therefore unable to work, and 15% reported they could not find work.
> (4) About 100,00 remain--these did not work for reasons other than those listed (Roach and Roach, 1972, p. 116).

Thus, only 3% of non-aged family heads of households living in poverty might have chosen not to work.

Even for the poor who are attempting to change their conditions through work it is not an easy task. Lack of experience, education, and skills hinder job pursuers. The job market is often closed to the poor; there is clear evidence of this in statistics of minorities. The NAACP and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission investigated trade unions in the 1960s to produce this evidence. Some of the findings were as follows: (1) In St. Louis, only 7 of 1,667 apprentices in craft programs of building, metal and printing trades were

black, (2) in the construction industry there were 20 blacks out of 700 positions in Atlanta; all the blacks were employed in the dirtier trowel trades such as lathing, cement finishing, bricklaying, and plastering; (3) in Blatimore, there were 20 blacks out of 750 building trade apprentices; (4) there were no black apprentices among the iron workers, the plumbers, the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the sheet and metal workers, or the Painters Union in either Atlanta or Baltimore; (5) fewer than 2% of all craft union apprentices were black in all of Detroit (Ross and Hill, 1967, p. 407).

It is clear that the work experience of the poor does not provide a guarantee of escaping poverty. An important reason for this is the family size. For example, in 1968, a non-farm family with five children and two parents would need $5780 to maintain a standard of living just above the poverty line. The head of the family would have to work full time earning $3.00 per hour to reach this goal. In 1966, over 40% of poor families with children headed by employable men under 65 had more than three children to support (Roach and Roach, 1972).

Willard Wirtz (1964), the former U.S. Labor Secretary, described what he called the 'human scrap heap' in a seminar on technological change and automation. He explained the 'human scrap heap' as a group of about 250,000 to 500,000 human beings who did not even appear on unemployment statistics. Wirtz specified that because of their despair, they had given

up looking for work and were counted out of the labor market. Wirtz further maintained that the rate of nonparticipation in the labor force was 4.7% in 1953 and climbed to 5.2% by 1962.

> The human scrap heap is composed of persons who as a consequence of technological development, of their own educational failures, of environments of poverty and other causes that disqualify them for employment in a skilled economy, cannot and will not find work without help.

It is clear that unemployment and underemployment is an important aspect to the poverty cycle. The poor are unable to obtain jobs because of lack of skills and training, and a tightly closed job market to minorities. Even when work is available it is difficult to escape poverty. Many of those who worked full or part time during the 1960's remained poor. Therefore despite the individual's initiative and motivation to change the circumstances of poverty, it is often very difficult to do.

Education

America and Education

America has been committed in principle to nationwide higher education for some time, but only in the past ten years have there been a number of special support programs such as Upward Bound, Talent Search, Educational Opportunity Centers, and A Better Chance. These programs were designed to assist disadvantaged students to pursue higher education,

making the implementation of the principle a serious endeavor. Many of the battles by poor people have dealt specifically with America's educational institutions--which large numbers of social reform leaders consider the facility wielding power to change American society. James Cheek, President of Howard University, speaks precisely to this point:

> In terms of its obligation, social justice could be defined as parity and equity in access to and participation in the opportunities, rewards, benefits, and powers of the American society. The achievement of social justice is not a matter of changing the law--as was the case with civil rights --but rather of changing the structure and character of our society; its attitudes, its practices, its institutions.

Cheek continues, saying,

> . . . social justice attainable through alteration in the practices of the major American institutions. At the center of these institutions is the institution of higher learning. One can and should say that the nation's colleges and universities will represent (as they have) the major focal point in the developing struggle for social justice (Crossland, 1971, pp. viii and ix).

Yet to reach this stage of higher education one must go through the current public school systems. Schools are one of the institutions which relate most profoundly to future social and cultural change. Charles Silberman (1964) states: "If youngsters are to have a chance the public schools must educate them, for education is rapidly becoming the principal form of capital in the United States" (pp. 224-225). Silber-

man later adds, "The public school offers the greatest opportunity to break down the cultural barrier that helps block the Negroes' advance into the mairstream of American life" (p. 249).

Despite recognition that a solid public school education is necessary to succeed in post secondary education, the federal government still has not followed through with its commitment to poor people. At a recent meeting of the National Council of Churches, Congressman William Ford stated,

> We simply do not have a national commitment to education. Nobody in the history of this country has been defeated or even harmed in any way by his outright opposition to our phony support of federal aid to education. We get what we want most from our government. If we had directed this country the same kind of resources and the same percentage of our wealth and the same commitment in the aircraft industries as we have had in education, John Glenn would still be sitting out in the field some place trying to get off the ground in a gas-filled balloon (Hurst, Jr., 1972, p. 25).

Bernard Watson, Chairman of the Urban Education Task Force and Chairman of the Department of Urban Education at Temple University in Philadelphia, agrees with Ford that the federal government's assistance has diminished.

> Poor people and minorities in this country are in trouble. The years of Educational commitment (wavering and ineffectual as it sometimes was) to assist them to do what they could potentially not do for themselves appears to be over (Urban Coalition, 1967, p. 11).

The fact that a majority of poor people do not "get off the ground" and the fact that the educators throughout the country see the government's assistance dwindling points the finger once again to a culture that breeds and cultivates a syndrome of poverty.

The Public Schools: A View from the Other Side of the Tracks

Youth from low income backgrounds often have entirely different experiences in public education than other youth. Studying 10,000 high school graduates in San Francisco, Berlson and Steiner concluded that poor youth were much more interested in occupational choice than the same age range of upper class youth because of different educational expectations and a different awareness of available opportunities based upon a lack of advice and guidance. Berlson and Steiner also concluded that only through college eudcation could lower class youngsters avoid manual occupations; that first jobs were indicators of future careers; that the higher the level of achievement poor youth attained, the less vocationally oriented their education became and the wider their choice of occupational opportunities became (Trent and Medesher, 1968). The question remains what is happening to hinder the educational progress of low income high school students?

One major factor is that schools are often qualitatively

different for the poor. The buildings in ghetto areas are inferior, older, and more decrepit. Supplies are often insufficient and outdated. Facilities, including libraries, gymnasiums and cafeterias are usually inferior and less specialized. Ironically, studies have found that free lunch and free milk programs have most often been provided in schools in middle class areas while one-half of the schools in poor sections lacked both of these programs (Sexton, 1966). Fred Crossland (1971) states:

> Since formal education is an important segment of life for most of the individual's first 18 years, and since school activities and demands closely resemble those of college, the quality, nature, and the extent of prior schooling are major factors in determining who is likely to go to and succeed in college (pp. 62-63).

And yet public school personnel are often insensitive to impoverished students' needs creating a situation where students do not receive the preparation needed to continue their education.

Administrators are an integral part of this problem. They often attempt to maintain discipline and order in their schools which means using punishment for any acting out which is the most expedient method of control. Oftentimes these administrators are not aware of the relationship of their school to a hungry, uninterested, tired student who has no future hope of higher education and consequently no ambition. Guidance offices are usually understaffed and are able to

operate in a personal counseling capacity only in crisis oriented situations. Vocational counseling often occurs once a year for students. In addition counselors frequently operate on middle class values, and are insensitive to the poor student. In a study done by Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) guidance counselors' assignments of students to college preparatory curricula were found to be based on questionable subjective criteria. By interviewing counselors Cicourel and Kitsuse found that students' academic choices were curbed and directed ultimately by the counselors themselves who for the most part were misinformed about variables such as SES or college characteristics and requirements for the poor so that in effect equal educational opportunities were not assured for all students having equal capabilities.

Teachers in poorer areas are generally underqualified and unable to acquire employment elsewhere. Charles Hamilton and Stokely Carmichael (1967) pointed out how in New York City only 50.3% of teachers in Black and Puerto Rican elementary schools were fully licensed as compared with 78.2% in white schools. Another example would be evident in Detroit, where the poor sections have three times as many emergency substitute teachers employed in full time teaching positions as the middle class areas. Many school systems also operate on a reward basis where inexperienced newcomers are placed in the ghetto schools; only later, after they gain rank and status by experience do they move on to white upper-

income neighborhoods (Sexton, 1966). John Holt (1964), Nat Hentoff (1967), Jonathan Kozol (1968), Charles Silberman (1970), Kenneth Clark (1970), and others point out how middle class attitudes (such as quietness, politeness, order, rote memorization, acquiescence, conformity) are perceived by teachers to be related to native intelligence and learning ability.

Kenneth Clark reports how white students in New York City were employed to interview white teachers about their attitudes and feelings towards Blacks. Fifty percent of the subjects stated that they believed blacks to be inherently inferior in intelligence and said the blacks could not be expected to learn. Another study found over half the white teachers in a ghetto school describing their students as 'lazy', while only 19% of black teachers did so; 37% of white teachers viewed students as 'high strung', while only 3% of black teachers did so (Gottleib, 1964). This is the attitude the white teachers carried with them into the classroom; studies have proven that such attitudes perpetuate the cycle of low expectations-low achievement-low expectations (Silberman, 1970). Reflecting on his own youth and upbringing, Malcolm X said,

> . . . because man, there are a whole lot of kids on this street just like me. They smell bad, they act bad, they talk bad, and their report card says they are dumb. But you know something? These kids are smart. These kids are beautiful. These kids are great. They need to be seen and helped (Hurst, Jr., 1972, p. 30).

Yet the inferior and prejudiced teachers are plentiful in the ghettos. How much of a chance do these kids have? Very little according to Jules Henry (1972). "The conclusions all point to the same direction--that the culturally deprived child starts with the initial handicaps that make failure a foregone conclusion" (p. 51).

If the schools are failing minorities and poor people, naturally their administrative structures are not sensitive to needs of the poor. The Urban Task Force (1970), under the auspices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, undertook a study of school boards in urban ghetto areas. They concluded that the school boards were not representative of the people they served but instead were generally dominated by people with middle or upper class backgrounds whose attitudes reflect those respective cultures. In many cities where a large majority of the school children were black or Spanish-speaking, the Boards of Education were comprised of chiefly white citizens. When school boards did have minority members, they were generally found to be middle class, having minimal insights about, and little in common with the ghetto child or dweller. As a result, the boards were generally unresponsive to the needs of the ghetto schools.

Charles Silberman (1970) points to evidence throughout the literature showing that low income students are traditionally alienated from public schools. Patricia Cayo Sexton

(1966) substantiated this, investigating the costs in an average public school, speculating that the costs alienated low income students from the school system. Fees included admission fees for athletic events, dramatic performances, dances, dues for the studentbody, club membership fees, fees for homemaking classes, mechanical drawing, woodmaking, laboratory sciences, fees for gym clothes, lockers, athletic equipment, class sweaters, rings, keys, pins, field trips, workbooks, pens, pencils, paper, ink, subscriptions for school newspapers, magazines, handbooks, costs for photographers for school yearbooks, graduation fees, diploma fees, and commencement caps and gowns. The public school student would also need money for clothes, dates, transportation by bus, car, or subway, lunches, and snacks. Low income students do not have the money to spend on these items, some of which are important for adolescents to be included in their peer groups in school. These expenses are considerable enough to keep many low income students out of the mainstream of school life. It should be no surprise that S. M. Miller (1965) found 70% of all high school dropouts were from families whose incomes were below $5000 a year. A study of students whose family income was less than $5000 indicated that 51% of white and 74% of nonwhite students left high school before graduation (Research Triangle Institute, N.P.). Thus America is a country where although education is compulsory until the age of 16, in the inner city schools illiteracy is 15%, three-fourths

of the students do not finish high school, and the average period of formal education is four years less than for the city as a whole (K. Clark, 1965).

In 1967, the Board of Education in Washington, D.C., funded an extensive 15 month study of the District of Columbia's public schools, programs, and practices. This study, entitled the Passow Study, looked closely at one community that was representative of other impoverished communities, illustrating how low income students were faring in the American educational system. It was found that the Washington, D.C. system had 1) increasing de facto residential segregation within the district which resulted in a largely segregated school system; 2) a lower level of scholastic achievement as measured by performance on standardized tests; 3) a 'reacting' school system rather than an 'initiating' one'; 4) guidance services which were unable to meet the needs of students; 5) curricula which were not oriented towards the urban population; 6) high school dropout rates representing a large number of youths not receiving high school diplomas; 7) staffing patterns which employed large numbers of temporary teachers; 8) a promotion system which lacked motivational elements of career development and training for supervisory and administrative leadership; 9) inadequate evaluation and assessment methods coupled with limited use of test data for proper diagnosis and counseling; 10) inservice teacher training programs which fell short of adequately providing for

professional growth (Passow, 1967). Passow's study can be used to signify what is going on in other systems, other cities, and other schools. The study shows how the better teachers gravitate towards environments where there are more rewards, resegregation may be the outcome of relocating students in different schools, testing is inadequate and inapplicable, and dropout rates are high.

In conclusion numerous findings demonstrate that there are vast differences between low income high school students and otherincome high school students. These differences are founded in personal aspirations, inherent patterns in the public schools, and discrimination in the educational system. Lower personal goals by low income youth stem from different educational expectations and performance, and limited awareness of available opportunities in the future. Studies show that impoverished youth are more interested in occupational goals which change correspondingly with higher achievement in high school. One study found that the less vocationally oriented low income students became, the broader their conception of future occupations became.

Yet poor students test lower on standardized tests than higher income students, attend older, more decrepit school buildings, are subjected to inferior school facilities, and have access to free lunch and free milk programs less frequently than middle class area students. In conjunction, studies show poor youth alienated from school systems by the

lack of fees and money needed for various activities and events. Thus, certain accepted patterns in the American school systems cause inferior educations, a lack of interest, a sense of alienation, poorer grades, and even nutritional deficiencies and illiteracy. It is no wonder statistics have pointed to the fact that almost three-quarters of minority poor youth and approximately one-half of white poor youth drop out of high school before graduating.

Staffing in public schools does not meet the needs of poor students. Administrators are often insensitive to the problems of low income youth, and more concerned with administering a 'good school'; guidance counselors are overworked, understaffed, carry middle class values, and often point low income students into business or general tracks away from college; teachers in poor areas are generally underqualified, frequently the worst teachers who could not secure employment elsewhere, often racist, maintain middle class values and ideals in the classroom, and are there only temporarily, waiting to get transferred to a middle class area. School boards also are dominated by people from middle and upper class backgrounds who do not understand or relate to the difficulties faced by poor people in public schools.

Characteristics of Impoverished High School Youth

General characteristics. The life of an impoverished high school youth is different from that of any other young-

ster attending school. Variables already mentioned play an important part in the final outcome of grades, attendance, and motivation. The California Advisory Committee on Compensatory Education concluded that poor high school youth could generally be identified as those who are "below average in school achievement as measured by standardized tests." In addition, the Committee found each student with one or more of the following problems: 1) economic deprivation attributable to an absent, nonproviding, or marginally providing head of the household; 2) social alienation fostered by racial or ethnic discrimination with all its accompanying deprivations in housing, employment, and education, or by belonging to a different or non-English speaking subcultural group; 3) geographic isolation because of being transients or residency in an area far removed from adequate educational facilities (Gordon and Wilkenson, 1966).

An example of racism in public schools. The following is an example of present day racism in the public schools. It is an excerpt from a fourth grade history textbook about plantation life in the Old South. The state Superintendent of Education stated that he did not consider the book derogatory towards Negroes.

> As you ride up beside the Negroes in the field they stop working long enough to look up, tip their hats, and say, "Good morning, Master John!" You like the friendly way they speak and smile; they show bright rows of their white teeth.
>
> "How's it coming, Sam?" your father asks one of the old Negroes.

> "Fine, Marse Tom, jes fine. We got much more cotton than we can pick." Then Sam chuckles to himself and goes back to picking as fast as he can . . .

In the same fourth grade book, the Klu Klux Klan is referred to as an organization of "loyal white men" who knew they had to do something to bring back law and order (Hurst, Jr., 1972, p. 141). In 1966, The Saturday Review documented that of 5,000 children's books published between 1962 and 1964, fewer than 7% included one or more blacks in the text. Of those books including blacks, 60% placed them either outside the United States or before World War II.

Although things have changed somewhat since The Saturday Review researched this, the problem still remains. School systems and cultures which were founded on, and still precipitate racial ethics and prejudices such as these, have an already built-in educational block for minority students. These teachings practically insure that the minority student will be treated differently in the system, feel inferior, lack self confidence and motivation, perform poorly and consequently will not receive an adequate education or even be able to apply to college. Charles Silberman (1970) states in Crisis in the Classroom,

> The schools are still failing to provide the kind of education Negroes, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and Applachian whites--indeed, the poor of every color, race and ethnic background--need and deserve (p. 62).

The Kerner Commission, which agreed with Silberman, described the failure of American education.

> . . . for many minorities and particularly for the children of the racial ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could help overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation (Knowles and Prewitt, 1969, p. 31).

Can they succeed? Standardized tests and traditional grading methods are still acknowledged as the primary means of measuring the academic performance of the poor and ethnic minorities, despite a longstanding controversy about the appropriateness of such measuring devices. Unfortunately, test scores have been lower for poor and minority students. In the book Minority Access to College, Fred Crossland (1971) reflects the major criticisms of testing; the cultural bias of tests, the predictive value of tests, the reasons why minority youth do not score well on tests, and the possibility that tests do not measure appropriate abilities. Crossland points out how on virtually every test that claims to measure educational aptitude or achievement the mean scores for minority youth are approximately one standard deviation below the mean scores for the rest of the population. Consequently, if test scores are a determinant for college admissions without discrimination or specific reference to the poor and minorities, the results of these tests constitute a major obstacle for minority youth trying to secure access to institutions of higher education.

Jencks (1972) has found that the mean IQ and standardized test scores of the average black 18-year-old are comparable to scores of white teenagers who are 3-4 years younger. In the Metropolitan Northeast, black students normally begin first grade with somewhat lower standardized achievement test scores than white students, and were approximately 1.6 grade levels behind white students by the sixth grade, and had fallen 3.3 grade levels behind white students by the twelfth grade (Knowles and Prewitt, 1969). Dr. Henry Dyer, Vice President of Educational Testing Services stated, "There are no tests of native intelligence," and that in fact "the concept of 'native intelligence' is essentially meaningless" (Silberman, 1964, p. 259). The following table represents nationwide median or five IQ and standardized test scores for 12th graders from different cultural backgrounds.

Nationwide Median Test Scores for Twelfth Grade Pupils, fall 1965 (Coleman et al., 1966, p. 20)

	Puerto Rican	Native American	Mexican American	Oriental	Black	White
Average of Five Tests	43.1	45.1	44.4	50.1	41.1	52

These results clearly illustrate that the averages for minority groups are far lower than those for white students with the exception of Oriental Americans.

Evidence has shown that there is no correlation between

an individual's inherent intelligence and his/her ability to achieve correspondingly high test results. Kenneth Clark (1970), the noted author and sociologist, addresses this point:

> One of the disturbing and persistent realities in contemporary American education is the fact that the academic achievement of minority groups to lower status children in urban public education is consistently below the norm. This retardation begins early in the elementary grades and continues at an accelerated rate through the upper grades. Cumulative academic retardation has become the most significant characteristics of large urban school systems. It is probably the dominant educational problem in the U.S. today (p. 1).

Since test scores, coupled with achievement in previous grades, are utilized for placement, minority and low income children are often put in lower grades and lower tracks. For example, in St. Louis disproportionate percentages of students in Track I (the highest track) are white, with a similar placement of black children in Track III (the lowest track) (Silberman, 1964). Numerous studies, such as the Coleman report (1967), Professor Jessie Buckhead's report (1967), Central Advisory Council for Education in England (1967), Pringle, Butler and Dance (1966), The National Foundation for Education Research in England and Wales (1967), have found that socio-economic environment (including housing conditions, income, presence of parents, and ethnic status) is an important and crucial determinant in the evaluation of educational test results.

In spite of the evidence that present IQ test scores are economically, culturally and ethnically biased, these scores are still frequently used as the basis for a child's placement in a track or class. (Subsequently, tracking becomes generally a vocational and business pocket for low income students, whose parents are dependent on the school system for information and direction concerning their child and therefore do not have the expertise to challenge the school's decisions about their child. This in turn affects any chance for post-secondary education.) Patricia Sexton (1968) says,

> There is not a shred of proof that IQ tests are valid measure of native intelligence, and in fact there is much proof that they are not . . . . An only daughter of well-to-do white city dwellers shows up best of all. Small wonder since the tests are made up by well-to-do white city dwellers and favor their vocabulary (pp. 40 and 48).

Charles Silberman (1964) concludes that the differences between black and white test scores are clearly related to differences within the environment and training. Consequently, the IQ scores of black children typically drop 20 points as the children progress through school. He maintains that when these same black youngsters participate in a project designed to improve their education, this IQ discrepancy does not occur. Silberman takes as an example the New York Demonstration Guidance Project where eight of ten youngsters' IQ scores improved between 10 and 40 points. Silberman adds that lower class white youths' IQ scores are substantially below

middle class white childrens' scores. Another poignant example of children who, because they belong to a "culture of poverty", have sufficiently lower IQ scores than the remainder of the population can be seen in Israel. Israeli educators have found that "Oriental Jews", those children who are immigrants from Arabic countries in North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Egypt), and the Middle East (Iraq, Yemen, Kudestan) began school with significant IQ gaps averaging 16 points below that of children from Western European backgrounds. As in the U.S., that gap too increased with age--at 13 years old there was a 22 point differential. Few of the "Oriental Jews" go on to high school, which is not compulsory, and those who do generally do poorly. Hardly any continue into higher education. This is comparable to America, where children are not inherently inferior, but because of the repercussions of poverty perform below the norm.

Students' reading is another example of minorities falling significantly behind white students' norms. The reading ability of Mexican American students is 2-1/2 years behind white students in the sixth grade, and increases to 3-1/3 years behind by the twelfth grade. The reading ability of Puerto Rican students is 3.7 years behind white students in the twelfth grade while American Indians are 3.2 years behind white students by the twelfth grade. By their last year of high school southern Blacks are two grades behind Metropolitan Northeast Black students and five years behind Northeast

Metropolitan White seniors (Silberman, 1970). Since the statistics cited only examine reading abilities and discrepancies among twelfth graders, the figures are drastically understated because only those students who succeeded to the twelfth grade were accounted for.

The following chart looks at 1968 projected high school graduates from the state of Texas compiled by the Governor's Committee on Public School Education in Texas.

Projected High School Graduates, Texas

Cumulative Percent Graduating by Age 21 (Carter, 1970, p. 27)

Group	1966-67	1970-71	1974-75	1978-79
All Groups	62	67	71	75
Anglo Boys	66	70	74	78
Anglo Girls	68	73	78	83
Negro Boys	52	58	63	68
Negro Girls	52	57	61	65
Latin Boys	40	45	50	55
Latin Girls*	40	45	50	55

*Mexican American

It is evident that the highest proportion of graduating seniors is white, followed respectively by blacks and Mexican Americans. Both black and Mexican American populations fall markedly below the norm for all ethnic groups. Although there is a projected increase, the ratio of black and Mexican Ame-

rican graduates stays fairly the same in comparison to white graduates.

In conclusion, test scores are still emphasized as indicators of intelligence despite proof of lower test results by poor and minority students because of cultural bias, an inability to measure appropriate abilities, and evidence showing no correlation between native intelligence and the ability to achieve high test scores. Hence poor and minority students are tracked in lower level classes, graduate less frequently than white middle or upper class students, and read at markedly lower grade levels. In conjunction with this, IQ scores are considerably less for poor and minority students than for white middle and upper class students but have been increased in some instances as high as 40 points by specialized programs and projects.

The College Bound Obstacle Path

For the disadvantaged there are many obstables to overcome before higher education can change from a dream to a reality. Some of the barriers have already been discussed: lower performance on standardized tests; fewer high school minority graduates as compared to whites; prevalent middle class attitudes and values within the school system; insensitive and inaccurate guidance by counselors gearing poor students into vocational, technical, and business curriculua; inferior educational facilities; and less competent teachers.

One problem added to these would be that of impoverished youth living geographically near institutions of higher education in order to attend them. The fact that most low income college students in America attend institutions of higher education that are in close proximity to their homes has been documented by many recent studies (Crossland, 1971). This is related to saving room and board costs at colleges and universities; poor students often do not receive enough financial aid to allow them to attend schools away from home. For inner city students, sometimes even the cost of a bus or subway can make the difference between being able to afford attending an institution or not.

An insufficient amount of money is another evident obstable to higher education for low income students. In 1968, the median family income for whites was $8937 and for "non-whites" was $5590 or 63% of the figure for whites (Crossland, 1971). The Census Bureau reported that in 1970 the median family income for whites was $10,236, compared to $6,279 for blacks (Research Triangle Institute, N.P.). In 1969, the average annual expense of private institutions ranged to approximately $5000. One-half of all 1971 college students came from families in the top one-fourth economic bracket in the country, while only 6-8% came from the lowest one-fourth economic bracket (Crossland, 1971). In a 1970 study of high school seniors from five major cities in the United States, more than half the subjects who did not continue into post-

secondary education responded that the primary reason was lack of money, estimating that they needed $1,000 to $2,000 more to make admission financially possible (Research Triangle Institute, N.P.). Therefore, minorities and low income whites were the least likely people to continue their education beyond high school.

The following chart is based on data compiled by the American Council on Education in 1969 and illustrates the numbers of freshmen entering college in relation to their economic status.

Distribution of Freshmen Entering College in 1969 among Types of Colleges by Family Income Group in Percent (Research Triangle Institute, N.P.)

Family Income	2 Yr. Coll. Pub.	2 Yr. Coll. Priv.	4 Yr. Coll. Pub.	4 Yr. Coll. Priv.	University Pub.	University Priv.
Less than $4000	37%	9%	20%	17%	14%	4%
$4000-$5999	34	11	20	15	16	3
$6000-$7999	33	11	20	15	18	3
$8000-$9999	30	10	21	16	24	4
$10,000-$14,999	26	8	20	18	27	5
$15,000-$19,999	20	8	18	19	28	7
$20,000-$24,999	19	8	14	23	28	9
$25,000-$29,999	13	9	12	27	28	12
More than $30,000	12	7	9	30	28	16

Note: Rows may not add up to 100% because of rounding

This chart clearly illustrates another perspective from which to assess the educational status of the disadvantaged student in higher education. Most low income students who do continue their education enter two year public colleges. Low

income youth also much more frequently enter public institutions. Higher income students tend towards private four year colleges and universities, and four year public universities. Therefore, there is a difference in the distribution of enrollment at different types of colleges and universities dependent on income, causing a distinctive class difference at various kinds of institutions of higher learning.

Black student enrollment has increased in public sections of higher education but remained nearly the same in private sections. In 1970, total enrollment in public institutions constituted nearly 75% of the total white population while about 80% of all black students attended public sections. In 1970, more than half of all black freshmen were in junior and community colleges (Crossland, 1971). High numbers of other minority students were similarly found in other two year colleges. A study of Mexican American students in college showed that in five Southwestern states 90% of all the students were enrolled in public institutions with over half attending state colleges and universities. A study by the College Entrance Examination Board (1973) found that top achievement level black male students were nearly three times as likely as their white counterparts to attend two year colleges.

The amount of financial assistance impoverished students receive determines their ability to continue their education. Without substantial aid, and often full financial aid pack-

ages, low income students cannot hope to enter institutions of higher education. The average yearly expense for public institutions is almost one-third of the median annual income for black families during the year 1970. Because of the decrease of federal assistance, financial aid is presently comprised of significant amounts of work study and loans. Loans are accumulated through a four-year period and are often difficult to repay for a student who must also contribute to basic family needs such as food, rent, electric bills, heat, telephone bills, medicine, dentist bills, doctor bills, etc. In addition, work study programs can detract from studying time of low income students who often badly need this time (Greenleigh, 1970; Levitan, 1969; Shea, 1968).

Studies have shown minorities and low income whites less likely to attend college because of the additional obstacles including the lack of personal resources, inadequate financial awards, the geographical distance of the nearest college, and the discriminatory selection process of private institutions. Contrasting the 6-8% of students in the lowest quarter income bracket to the over 50% of students in the highest quarter income bracket who constitute the college student population, the disproportionate ratios are evident. Low income whites and minorities are more frequently found in public, two year institutions close to their homes. This relates to the fact that top level achieving blacks have been found to attend two year institutions three times as much as

top level achieving whites.

Racism and Higher Education

Racial discrimination is still another barrier to higher education for minority students. Minority students are often selected or excluded from institutions because of the ongoing perceptions of fundamental academic disabilities based on test results, grades, and achievement. Many minority students are behind in grade levels and achievement due to inferior curricula, schools, teachers, equipment, and guidance. Studies have indicated that black students who enter community colleges are on the average less prepared academically in the traditional sense than white students (Bindman, 1966; Bayer and Brouck, 1968). William Grier and Price Cobbs (1968) state about black students who succeed,

> To have maintained a fervent interest in education and a belief in the records of learning, required a major act of faith . . . . Black intellectuals are a disenchanted lot. They have overcome odds and have performed the impossible . . . (p. 118).

The following chart indicates the numbers of black students in white institutions. It is evident that the numbers in comparison to the percentage of blacks in the population is disproportionate.

Enrollment of Black Students in Predominantly White Institutions (1968) (Moss, 1971, p. 121)

University of Alabama	120 of 10,000
Arizona State	141 of 1,400
University of Arkansas	80 of 7,000
University of California (Berkeley)	381 of 16,000
University of California (Los Angeles)	421 of 18,000
University of Connecticut	167 of 9,000
University of Illinois	690 of 22,000
University of Iowa	84 of 13,000
University of Massachusetts	158 of 12,000
University of Chicago	104 of 2,700
Harvard University	154 of 4,200
University of Michigan	546 of 21,000
Princeton Unviersity	95 of 3,000
State University of New York	
at Albany	104 of 1,000
at Binghampton	40 of 3,000
at Stony Brook	125 of 5,000
Brooklyn College	450 of 10,000
Queens College	222 of 11,000
Hunter College	270 of 5,000
City College of New York	500 of 5,000

The following two charts will give the reader an accurate view of minorities in relation to the total population. The first chart focuses on the estimated composition of the minority students in the 1970 freshman class in college. The second chart looks at what the distribution of the 1970 American freshmen class would llok like if it accurately reflected the composition of the entire population, and if concurrently the total of "all other" freshmen remained the same.

Estimated Freshmen Class, Minority Students, 1970

Black Americans	132,000	6.6%
Mexican Americans	18,000	0.9%
Puerto Ricans	8,000	0.4%
American Indians	2,000	0.1%
Sub total	160,000	8.0%
All others	1,840,000	92.0%
Total	2,000,000	100.0%

Freshmen Class Reflecting an Accurate Composition of the Entire Population, 1970 (Corssland, 1971, pp. 19 & 20)

Black Americans	249,000	11.5%
Mexican Americans	52,000	2.4%
Puerto Ricans	15,000	0.7%
American Indians	9,000	0.4%
Sub total	325,000	15.0%
All others	1,840,000	85.0%
Total	2,165,000	100.0%

> In other words a major step toward ending minority underrepresentation in America higher education in the course of four or five years would have been taken if: the number of 1970 black freshmen were increased by 89% or 117,000 (from 132,000 to 240,-000); the number of 1970 Mexican American freshmen were increased by 189% or 34,000 (from 18,000 to 52,000); the number of Puerto Rican freshmen were increased by 88% of 7,000 (from 8,000 to 15,000); and the number of American Indian freshmen were increased by 350% or 7,000 (from 2,000 to 9,000) (Crossland, 1971, p. 20).

Despite the huge disproportions in relationship to the national population, from 1963 to 1968 shows a greater growth rate for non-whites than for whites attending institutions of higher education. The total number of nonwhites in college almost doubled, increasing at a rate of 93.6% from

1963 to 1969, while white enrollment increased at a lesser rate of 52.5% (from a much larger base). Nonwhites accounted for only 11.6% of the total college population in 1963, increasing to 28.4% in 1969 while whites expanded from a 1963 percentage figure of 22.4 enrollees to a 1969 figure of 35.5%. Even though these gains are significant, there is a marked underrepresentation of minorities in college in comparison to the total proportion of the population. The degree of underenrollment is exemplified in the following table.

1970 Enrollment in Higher Education Institutions--The Status of Ethnic Groups (Crossland, 1971, pp. 10, 13, 15)

Ethnic Group	% of Total Population	Estimated % of Total Higher Education Enrollment	% of Total Ethnic Population Enrolled
Black	11.5	5.8	2.0
Mexican American	2.4	0.6	1.0
Puerto Rican	0.7	0.3	1.3
American Indian	0.4	0.1	0.6
Sub total	15.0	6.8	1.8
All others	85.0	93.2	9.3
Total	100.0	100.0	3.9

It is evident then that the most underrepresented ethnic group is the American Indians, followed by the Mexican Americans, then Puerto Ricans, and then Blacks. Although the representation of minorities in college has significantly increased over the past several years, their enrollment rate in institutions of higher learning remains far below that of

whites.

In summary, minority groups are still underenrolled in institutions of higher learning despite figures indicating an increase of minority students attending college. Since white enrollment has also risen, the disparity between white and nonwhite enrollments has more or less remained the same so that the goal of parity by race and/or income has not been reached. In addition, the large numbers of minority students entering two year colleges cause an unequal distribution in the types of colleges and universities that nonwhite and white students attend.

Through the Maze to College

Hopes, aspirations, and dreams. Economic circumstances still exclude many low income students wanting to attend college, despite their motivation and desire to do so. Between 1939 and 1959, young people from all income groups had uniformly high aspirations to attend college. Between 1960 and 1966, however, students who aspired to enter college from the lowest quarter income bracket doubled from 23% to 46% as shown in the following chart.

Proportion of High School Seniors in Low Income Groups Who Plan to Attend College: 1959 and 1966 (Froomkin, 1970, p.2)

Year	Top	Third	Second	Lowest
1959	68	52	40	23
1966	74	65	52	46

The Equality of Educational Opportunity (1966) found that Blacks showed higher educational aspriations than whites at comparable income levels and that among students with very low ability scores it was twice as likely that minority students (as compared to whites) would plan to continue into college. Subsequently, two-thirds of low ability minority students and one-third of low ability white students planned to go to college (Coleman et al., 1966). Hall and Shipman (1963) administered a study on the attitudes of black mothers about their children entering college and found that 73% of subjects coming from the lowest socio-economic group wanted their children to attend college. A similar study by Deutsch and Brown (1964) demonstrated that in every socio-economic class black parents had higher educational and occupational aspirations for their children than white parents. In an analysis of the 1965-1966 census, Jaffee and Adams (1970) also found that more black than white high school seniors planned on college.

The following chart summarizes the patterns of aspirations for college and the fulfillment of these plans by 1966 high school graduates. Students from families earning $7500 or more had twice the prospect of entering college as students from families earning $3000 or less. Despite the increase of desire by low income students to attend college, there was still a significant lower percentage (46%) in the lowest income bracket as contrasted with the highest income

bracket (71%). In addition, from families earning $7500 or more, 57% of the youth aspiring to enter college did, while only 75% of youth from families earning $3000 or less did so.

Family Income	% Responding "Yes" for Planning College	% Having Attended College by February 1967	% of College Goals Attained
Less than $3000	46%	17%	37%
$3000-$4999	47%	32%	67%
$5000-$7499	58%	37%	63%
More than $7500	71%	57%	80%

1970 statistics looked similar to the 1966 figures for college attendance by income. The enrollment of 18 to 24 year olds in the lowest fourth income bracket was 20% while for the same age group in the top fourth income level the enrollment was triple, or 60% (Research Triangle Institute, N.P., p. 36).

Persistence in college. Studies have clearly demonstrated that a student's financial background is relative to his/her chance of graduation from college. A low income student has less chance of graduating, and as the income becomes progressively higher the chances of graduation become proportionately higher. Eckland (1964), Panos and Astin (1968), and Sewell and Shah (1967). By 1971, Sewell studied 9,000 high school seniors from Wisconsin. He concluded that high socio-economic status students had six times the chance of graduating from college as low socio-economic students. In

conjunction he found that college graduation ratios ranged from 9 to 1 among low ability students to 2 to 1 among high ability students. Therefore a student's ability also plays a crucial part in determing whether the student will persist in college. Sewell and Shah (1967), Wegner and Sewell (1970) and Wegner (1967) have all implemented studies and found substantiating results that ability is an important determinant for college graduates. Trent and Medesker (1963) have also found that SES relates to persistence in college. They summarize how parental encouragement and support encourages students to complete their higher educational experience.

In conclusion, despite a marked increase in motivation for the black high school student by both the student and his parents, low socio-economic status is an inhibiting factor in black students actually going on to college. In fact, studies reveal black students from every social stratum have higher educational aspirations than whites with comparable income backgrounds. However the fact remains that over a four year period there was no significant change in the numbers of low income students, including low income blacks, who attended colleges.

Studies not only find lower rates of college acceptance and admissions of low income students, but also reveal that graduation statistics from college are related to financial background. Higher income students tend to finish college as much as six times more frequently than low income students.

Low ability middle and upper income students tend to complete college as much as nine times more than low ability low income students, while high ability middle and upper class students tend to finish college twice as often as high ability low income students.

Summary

In summary Chapter II provides a broad overview of the origins, conditions, and socio-political ramifications of poverty. The major points of the chapter indicate the following:

--It wasn't until the 1960s that the federal administration began to address poverty as a social issue.

--Even though poverty is recognized today as a domestic issue there is significant evidence that the federal government still blatantly underplays the problem.

--The United States does not provide the necessary services to offset the problems of poverty--the public assistance system is inadequate and humanly degrading.

--Popular myths of poverty are statistically false and perpetuate erroneous public thinking and public policy.

--Studies which primarily categorize all minorities into a single grouping entitled "nonwhites" engender racist policies.

--Women and minorities are victims of the system, earning less than men and whites with similar qualifications and educations.

--Poverty is integrally related to minor and major physical illnesses and mental illness.

--Hunger and malnutrition of poor Americans cause nutritional deficiencies and diseases that could easily be cured.

--Housing conditions for the impoverished are substandard.

--The judicial structure is based on a white middle class value system with an unrepresented number of minorities as police officers, police administrators, lawyers, and judges.

--The poor frequent jails and detention centers more often than individuals from other income brackets.

--Regardless of motivation and initiative unemployment and underemployement are more rampant among the poor because of the lack of skills, education, and discriminatory job markets.

--The government is reducing its already minimal educational assistance for the poor.

--Minority and low income high school students are less likely to attend college than white middle and upper class high school students because of the lack of personal resources, the lack of adequate financial aid, inadequate high school training, geographical distances of the nearest colleges, and discrimination in acceptance patterns by private and public institutions.

--Tracking patterns, standardized testing interpretations, and unsuitable guidance counseling limit high school students' chances of entering college.

--Poor students most often attend two year public institutions regardless of ability or performance in high school.

--College completion is a greater likelihood for a middle or upper income student than a low income student.

Numerous socio-economic statistics and ideologies were set forth in this chapter ranging from controversial figures

like Daniel Moniyhan or Oscar Lewis to Kenneth Clark or Samuel Yette. Thus a wide range of antithetical findings and principles were examined so an all-inclusive spectrum of the philosophices about the poor and the resultant conclusions based on those philosophies were presented. However, in the final summation of the chapter the writer is compelled to add his own personal interpretations to the research and literature.

In examining the conclusions one can see they are massive and complex. Yet a fundamental ideological question remains: "Whose problem is poverty?" Moniyhan cites the problem as the pathology of the black society, specifically the disorganized family unit as the roots for inequality and racism Lewis identifies the 'culture of poverty' as the cause for the self perpetuating poverty cycle. Based on these faulty conceptualizations the federal government formulated a philosophical foundation and took off from there instituting new goals and solving problems. Hence federal interpretation shows the problem to rest with the 'subculture' of poverty rather than with society as a whole.

It is evident looking at the conclusions that many facets of poverty are externally imposed conditions rather than culturally internal reactions to circumstances. The federal government has not only neglected its responsibility to help solve this societal problem, but has not even attempted to alleviate the most basic consequences of being poor such as

hunger, starvation, and adequate shelter. The system also stops people from ending the psychological and physical hardships of poverty by maintaining barriers to higher education and thus better jobs.

Therefore the author concludes that until the American government makes an honest stand, accepting the responsibility for the existence of poverty, and stopping its continued economical exploitative policies and discriminatory practices, poverty will continue to exist with all its associated dehumanizing injustices.

Chapter II provides the context for the next chapter which describes how one program, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program, attempted to combat the ill effects of poverty.

CHAPTER III

A DESCRIPTION OF THE UPWARD BOUND PROGRAM

Introduction

Chapter III will describe the 1971-1972 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program that addresses the conditions of poverty as described in the previous chapter. The chapter will begin by examining various characteristics of the Upward Bound students including racial composition, geographical location, financial status, age range, general characteristics of students recruited into the program, and family constitution. This will be followed by an outline of program objectives.

Specific qualities of the program will then be examined beginning with the procedures for recruiting new students and reasons why students would enter Upward Bound. The chapter will continue to describe components of the summer and follow-up programs, and conclude with an examination of Upward Bound strengths and weaknesses.*

The Population--General Characteristics

The target population of the 1972 University of Massa-

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*The author has been a member of the full-time Upward Bound staff for the past five years from 1970 to the present in the positions of Director of Counseling, Assistant Director, and Acting Director. Therefore the author had a major part in the development and implementation of the program as described in this chapter.

chusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program consisted of 140 students. This population represented both sexes, students of black, white, and Spanish-speaking descent, with about 50% residing in urban areas and 50% residing in rural areas. These students came from four counties within a 75 mile radius: Berkshire County, Hamden County, Franklin County, and Hampshire County. In these four counties the twenty-three high schools represented were:

1. Athol High School, Athol, Mass.
2. Belchertown High School, Belchertown, Mass.
3. Chicopee Comprehensive High School, Chicopee, Mass.
4. Chicopee High School, Chicopee, Mass.
5. Classical High School, Springfield, Mass.
6. Commerce High School, Springfield, Mass.
7. Drury High School, North Adams, Mass.
8. Easthampton High School, Easthampton, Mass.
9. Greenfield High School, Greenfield, Mass.
10. Holyoke Catholic High School, Holyoke, Mass.
11. Holyoke High School, Holyoke, Mass.
12. Mahar Regional High School, Orange, Mass.
13. Monument Mountain Regional High School, Grent Barrington, Mass.
14. Northampton High School, Northampton, Mass.
15. Northampton School for Girls, Northampton, Mass.
16. Newman Preparatory School, Boston, Mass.
17. Pittsfield High School, Pittsfield, Mass.
18. St. Josephs High School, North Adams, Mass.
19. Taconic High School, Pittsfield, Mass.
20. Technical High School, Springfield, Mass.
21. Trade High School, Springfield, Mass.
22. Van Sickle Junior High School, Springfield, Mass.
23. Williamsburg High School, Williamsburgh, Mass.

The new students primarily entered the Upward Bound program in their tenth year of high school, although in special instances exceptions were made for ninth graders. There were

two main sources of ninth graders: one was the Spanish-speaking population, since the language barrier hindered many Spanish-speaking students from matriculating past the ninth grade; the other was delinquent individuals who required considerable attention and assistance to avert incarceration, expulsion, or withdrawal from school before reaching the tenth grade.

Upward Bound students were frequently potential dropouts from their schools. They were characterized by low grades, trade or business level curriculums, underachievement, hostility, apathy, marked truancy, frequent tardiness, and persistent skipping of classes. Consequently, Upward Bound students were often labelled delinquent and ineducable. In addition, their home environments offered little support or encouragement to pursue a college or even a high school education. Further education was deemed unrealistic because of limited finances and apparent lack of academic skills and intelligence.

The Upward Bound student population came from low income backgrounds. The income level alloted per family was stipulated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. For the fiscal year 1971-1972, the income guidelines read as follows:

Number of Family Members	Non-Farm	Farm
1	$2500	$1800
2	3500	2500
3	4200	3000
4	5200	3700
5	6200	4300
6	6900	4800
7	7600	5300
***	**add $700 for each additional member	**add $500 for each additional member

In addition to these economic limitations students had to meet one of the following criteria:

1) live in a designated Model Cities neighborhood
2) have English as a second language
3) live with a family where the head of the household was employed in a low-income, dead-end job.
4) be a migrant
5) be of a cultural heritage not reflected sufficiently or accurately in the current cirriculum or system
6) be living in an area of cultural or geographical isolation (Upward Bound guidelines, 1971-1972, Appendix A).

Consequently many students came from families which were receiving financial assistance in the form of social security, veterans' benefits, and/or welfare assistance.

In predominantly urban areas, some Upward Bound students resided in housing projects. In rural areas, homes were sometimes without electricity, heat, or hot water for substantial periods of time. A number of students found themselves alone at home most of the time because both parents worked full time. This left youngsters to assume the position of mother, father, or both towards their younger sib-

lings, or to be taken care of by their older brothers and sisters. Essentially this meant that students had major responsibility for their own upbringing when they needed love, support, and guidance of parents. In other cases, Upward Bound youth lived with only one parent who provided sole financial, emotional, and spiritual support for the household.

It is evident, then, that the Upward Bound student was likely faced with serious family difficulties and school problems. Add this to variables such as unemployment, drug addiction, improper health care, malnutrition, alcoholism, and a basic day-to-day struggle to survive and that is the Upward Bound student.

Objectives

The 1971-1972 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program staff was designed to achieve the following objectives:

1. To positively develop students' self concepts;
2. To develop a sense of personal and social responsibility and accountability;
3. To increase student motivation, educational goals, and personal aspriations;
4. To provide students with substantive academic skills necessary for college level work;
5. To secure proper college placement and financial assistance for graduating Upward Bound students.
6. To utilize the professional resources of the University by soliciting the services of University personnel as volunteers in curriculum planning, seminars, cultural enrichment, occupational and educational information.
7. To utilize the voluntary services of University of Massachusetts students in the implementation of an extensive tutorial program during the aca-

demic year.

8. To obtain from nearby colleges commitments similar to that of the University of Massachusetts in terms of waiving standard admissions criteria, permitting reduced study loads, providing maximum financial aid, and providing supportive counseling and academic services.
9. To develop relationships in participating communities, including welfare agencies, school systems, Community Action Agencies, etc.
10. To develop a political awareness and understanding;
11. To establish communication between the Upward Bound staff and the University faculty and students. This facilitated identification between Upward Bound students and people in higher education; it also familiarized the University population with low income students.

Recruiting Students

Prospective candidates for the Upward Bound program were found with the assistance of community organizations, high schools, churches, welfare agencies, the Youth Service Board, the Division of Child Guardianship, and by other Upward Bound students and parents. Each of these organizations would begin the screening process and make recommendations to the Upward Bound staff. Based on these recommendations, the Upward Bound staff would interview applicants, considering such variables as motivation for entering Upward Bound, income, life style, need, leadership abilities, and college potential. If the individual met the standards of a "high risk" student, there was a good chance s/he would be admitted to the program (dependent on the number of available openings).

If the student met these requirements and was interested in being in Upward Bound the Upward Bound caseworker would

visit the home and explain the program to the parents. With parental agreement, the required applications were filled out, making students members of the Upward Bound community.

Incentive to Enter Upward Bound

If Upward Bound was to be a serious endeavor, there had to be some kind of security for students when they graduated from the program. Naturally, the place to look for that security was at the host institution, the University of Massachusetts. By 1972, Upward Bound students were assured of admission to the University of Massachusetts if they received favorable recommendations from the Upward Bound administrative staff, regardless of past grades, records, or problems. This provided leverage needed to motivate Upward Bound students with realistic goals. In addition, the University scholarship Committee had earmarked $75,000 for full scholarships to all entering Upward Bound freshmen.

The University also committed itself to allow Upward Bound students to take as many as nine credits in three college courses during their last summer in the program, before entering their college freshman year. This enabled students to fulfill some of the required coursework prior to their freshman year, which in turn gave them a reduced freshman year course load. In this process students also had a chance to experience college classes (with tutorial assistance from the Upward Bound program if needed) before ever entering col-

lege. The University also offered academic and personal counseling services to all Upward Bound students.

Summer Program

General Description

The Upward Bound program was divided into two distinct components: the academic school year part, called the "follow-up", and the summer residential part. During the summer, students came from their respective home communities to Amherst to reside at the University of Massachusetts for a period of five weeks for non-bridge students and six weeks for bridge students. (Bridge students are those who have just graduated from high school and are moving to their first year of college or work; non-bridge students are those who will return to high school and Upward Bound in future summers.) Bridge and non-bridge students were divided into two sections. In each section there were 70 students, making the total population of the program 140 students. This division of sections helped the program to meet individual needs of both groups--preparatory college work for bridge students and academic skills development for non-bridge students.

Student Government

Both groups of students were encouraged to organize student governments. The prime responsibility of student governments was to regulate and set directions for the summer pro-

grams. The student government functioned autonomously from the administration, although subcommittees comprised of staff and students investigated various aspects of the program such as selecting recreational and cultural activities, making certain decisions, and taking necessary disciplinary measures. This enhanced student involvement and increased the maturity and responsibility expected of students. Student government also fostered a closer community body with a cooperative decision-making base.

Extra-curricular Activities

Students also had an important voice in the extra-curricular activities of the program. The study body structured special events such as Upward Bound dances, guest lecturers, seminars, a talent show, and a drama presentation. Weekend field trips were also designed, including visits to beaches, attendance at professional baseball games, going to movies, seeing plays at summer stock theater, going to concerts, and taking trips to New York City and Boston. Smaller field trips were offered by the staff. These mini-trips included visits to art and science museums, visits to other Upward Bound programs, going to Amherst College Observatory, seeing the University of Massachusetts computer center, climbing Mt. Tom, swimming in various ponds, etc. Upward Bound also formed athletic teams and competed with University of Massachusetts freshman teams, nearby Upward Bound programs, and community

teams. The University of Massachusetts contributed to the program offering its recreational facilities and also permitting Upward Bound students to attend campus functions (concerts, plays, recitals, dances, guest lectures, films, and art exhibits) free of charge.

Summer Staff

During the summer component there were a total of 28 staff hired in the positions of resident counselors, teachers, a recreational coordinator, a cultural activities coordinator, and two heads of residence. Each of these staff positions carried different responsibilities.

The resident counselors were primarily undergraduate students who had an awareness, sensitivity, and knowledge of low income and minority students. They were responsible for meeting with their corridors of 6-9 students weekly to discuss interpersonal dynamics, facilitating discussions concerning the program, providing tutorial supervision for students, meeting with all corridor students individually at least once a week, and assisting teachers in the classroom.

The two heads of residence (one man for the male dorm, one woman for the female dorm) were hired for their ability and competence in individual and group counseling techniques. They were responsible for providing leadership and guidance within the dormitory; insuring that students received counseling services when necessary; holding weekly group meetings to resolve any difficulties or conflicts that might arise;

fostering and maintaining an environment of trust, co-existence and harmony; and holding community meetings about dormitory living on a regular basis.

All Upward Bound program staff members, including teachers, were expected to live in the dormitory. This was meant to precipitate more meaningful teacher-student relationships outside of the classroom. So teachers not only administered their classes, but also participated in community functions, including evening and weekend activities. In addition, teachers offered extra-curricular Social Studies seminars, provided occupational and educational information to students, assisted in orienting students to college, helped with individual and group counseling, and supervised students who selected independent study courses.

The recreational coordinator organized a subcommittee of students and staff to plan recreational activities. He was in charge of purchasing, distributing, and setting up equipment, as well as structuring competitive events with local athletic teams and planning field days. The cultural coordinator also instituted ideas suggested by the cultural subcommittee. She planned all weekend trips, invited guest speakers, rented films, and keep the program aware of ongoing events ranging from University of Massachusetts concents to plays in Boston.

Summer Academics--Non-Bridge

Major classes were administered in five different academic areas for non-bridge students. The purpose of these courses was to motivate and stimulate students to understand the relationship of education to their backgrounds, and to correlate the importance of the educational experience with their present situations. This was done through shared learning experiences in classes of 6-8 students where teachers were known by their first names rather than the traditional "Mr. X." Therefore students saw that teachers do smoke cigarettes, say "damn", and sit in other furniture than teachers' desk-chairs. The five courses emphasized self disclosure and self discovery by means of discussions, tapes, and projects relative to students' daily lives.

The English class focused on extensive reading, comprehension, and composition skills. Teachers took an innovative approach to English, using relevant materials, with which students could identify. Compositions were mimeographed and passed out to class members for critical discussion. This helped students see their own work through the eyes of others, reinforce each others' capabilities, and gain confidence that they all either possessed or had weakness in certain skills. Compositions included opinionated, emotional, informational, autobiographical, and imaginative pieces. The small classes enabled teachers to meet frequently with individuals.

Mathematics classes concentrated on helping students gain skills and expertise and develop creative thinking in applied math. Students were encouraged to view the world in mathematical dimensions. For example students were encouraged to examine the geometrical designs of modern architecture, to explore the dimensions of their homes, room, and sidwalks, and to investigate the numbers and figures included in a basketball court. Therefore math classes prompted thinking and creativity in an environment that has traditionally been dry and stifling.

Social Problems class provided an opportunity for students to analyze and understand the political, social, and cultural dynamics of themselves, their failies, their schools, and their home communities. Issues such as democracy, poverty, politics, welfare, power, racism, and prisons were discussed. Included in this class was a one-day-a-week practical experience when the entire non-bridge student body went out to work in various social agencies and institutions in their home environments. Consequently, Upward Bound students were relating to their home communities in a positive, action-oriented manner.

Anthropology classes emphasized the study of modern American cultures. Classes focused on values, ideas, feelings, and attitudes about cultures in America. Anthropology classes integrated surrounding communities into the course, observing such things as black students in predominantly

white communities and white students in predominantly black communities.

All students had the option of selecting an Independent Study course which allowed them to pursue areas of interest not included in the summer curriculum. Independent Study programs ranged from the history of dance to ecological action projects. Students undertook these courses with the supervision of a teacher. Final results were evaluated by written reports, oral reports, projects, etc.

Elective Courses--Non-Bridge

Besides the five primary courses, a number of electives were offered. One such course was art, which was presented in a structured mode. Students taking art were given preliminary instructions and materials to undertake their project. From that point on instructors acted in a supervisory capacity, encouraging students to develop their own forms of expression. Pottery, ceramics, painting, sculpture, and metal work were areas of concentration.

Nature biology, another elective, focused on the relationship between human beings and nature. Microscopes, films, paintings, a canoe trip, a mountain hike, and visits to lakes and ponds were all used for the course. "Natural" colors, sights, smells, and sounds were used to gain an understanding of pollution, overpopulation, oneself, etc. The teacher acted as a catalyst, encouraging students to explore and disco-

ver themselves and their surroundings.

Film making constituted another elective. Film helped students express their inner feelings, which was a huge step for many Upward Bound students. For many Upward Bound students, verbal and written work had always been negative experiences; film-making was both a new medium for expression and a positive medium. Documentaries were made in the communities and in the Upward Bound summer program. Eight mm movie cameras, 8mm editing screens, projectors and color film were available to all students enrolled in the course.

A psychology seminar was also available for students. Topics included psychological and personality development, motivation, frustration, and conflict specifically applying to drugs and sex. The class was small and discussions were augmented by reading materials and students' personal experiences.

A Black History course examining Black life in America was also offered. Areas of concentration included the sources of slave trade, plantation life, slave rebellion, the Civil War, black reconstruction, black politics, and others. These topics were directly related to contemporary moods of the black movement.

Students could also study drama. Topics such as the impact of stage sets, acting, playwriting, and directing were studied and eventually a play was presented to Upward Bound parents, students, and staff. This fostered not only a know-

ledge of the technical aspects of a production, but the actual experience of producing the play.

Sewing was another elective offered. Students learned about designing clothes as well as about sewing techniques. This provided another avenue for students to express themselves creatively.

Summer Academics--Bridge

During the Upward Bound summer program bridge students could take three college courses, each class for three college credits. Courses were offered in the areas of Social Problems, Mathematics, English, and Anthropology. These enabled students to experience a college classroom setting and college level demands. The bridge students' English class was taught by a University of Massachusetts English professor who structured the course exactly like other freshman English classes, with parallel work loads and standards of grading. Successful completion of the course gave students three credits towards their college diploma and English requirement. Introductory math also counted towards the basic mathematics requirement. In the course, historical and cultural mathematical ideas were explored in order to cultivate a scientific and humanistic appreciation of math.

The Anthropology course focused on techniques used to reconstruct the evolution of human beings. Included in this was an investigation of historical biological change in rela-

tion to modern day societies. The class also examined biological and social aspects of racism, making Anthropology relevant to issues students face in their daily lives.

The Social Problems class had a curriculum focusing on an evaluation of modern day institutions. Agencies such as Upward Bound, Model Cities, the welfare system, the penal system, community action agencies and the judical system were analyzed using instruments such as films, reading materials, guest speakers, and field trips.

Augmenting the above four courses was a special bridge student counseling seminar. The purpose of the seminar was to assist students in the transition from the 12th grade in high school to freshman year in college. Meetings were similar to group counseling sessions exploring feelings about the year ahead. This seminar was probably the only help students received in adjusting to the transition because almost unanimously no one in the family had experienced college.

The Follow-up Program

General Description

The follow-up played an equally important part in students' lives. During the follow-up, the full time Upward Bound staff devoted its time and energies to working with individual students and their families, and the communities. The regular school year was utilized to review and scrutinize students' summer experiences; to examine closely students'

lives, hopes, values, goals, and dreams; and to begin making some decisions about upcoming graduates' futures.

On a weekly basis, the five administrative full-time staff met with Upward Bound students in their high schools and consulted with them both individually and in groups. Through these meetings, the Upward Bound caseworkers (who had previous counselor training) developed relationships with students which instilled a sense of mutual trust and understanding. This encouraged students to look at and better understand themselves and their world, and to explore their own potential.

Besides interpersonal relationships, many other activities took place during the follow-up. Staff members were occasionally in court with accused students, in welfare offices assisting families, in homes as family therapists, at parents' meetings cementing solid lines of communication and encouraging parental participation, and in high schools establishing working relationships with guidance personnel, teachers, and administrators.

Community Resource Committee

Another important activity that took place during the school year was the coordination of the Community Resource Committee. This committee brought Upward Bound parents, students, graduate students, and representatives from surrounding colleges, high schools, and community agencies to-

gether. The Resource Committee assisted in solving various problems such as medical and dental needs of the students, arranging tutorial programs by supplying tutors and community facilities, transporting students to meetings and reunions, offering part-time employment to students, offering legal aid, providing facilities for parents' meetings, and serving other similar functions. Essentially, the thrust of the Community Resource Committee was to make the program community-based and therefore more responsive to the needs and decisions of the representative population.

Academic Policy Committee

Operating parllel to the Community Resource Committee was the Academic Policy Committee. This group was comprised of a board with representatives from various departments at the University of Massachusetts. Departments included (with number of representatives) were: English Department, 2; School of Education, 2; Nursing, 1; Sociology Department, 1; Psychology Department, 1; School of Business Administration, 1; School of Engineering, 1; Public Health Department, 1; Math Department, 1; Provost's Office, 2; the Assistant Dean of Administration, a member of the student health services, the Dean of Students and four University of Massachusetts students who were formerly Upward Bound students. Members of this group offered their time and expertise in the areas of admissions, counseling, curriculum development, financial

aid, and helped with the logistics of operating a residential summer program at the University. Meetings were held approximately six times per year.

The Tutorial Program

An integral component of the academic school year was the tutorial program. The program provided students with supplemental tutorial services to help develop and reinforce their academic skills. The full time staff organized volunteers from the University of Massachusetts and from other surrounding two and four year colleges such as Greenfield Community College, Berkshire Community College, Holyoke Community College, Amherst College, North Adams State College, Springfield College, and American International College. Tutoring was administered on a weekly one-to-one basis and in group settings. Volunteer tutors were responsible for keeping lines of communication open with high school guidance counselors and structuring conferences with teachers in order to keep them informed of students' tutorial progress and maintain an awareness of students' progress in their high school classes.

Reunions

During the school year there were periodic reunions. For these reunions, students returned to the University to evaluate prior summer experience and investigate alternatives

for possible cultural and recreational activities that could be sponsored by the program. The reunions also provided students with pleasurable activities like going to movies, sharing meals, seeing friends, and having parties. The reunions also reinforced the students' assessment and comprehension of their present efforts in school and their examination of future plans.

Visiting Post-Secondary Institutions

In the 1972 follow-up program, students were taken to visit post-secondary institutions that they had expressed interest in attending. This enabled students actually to see the colleges they were interested in; speak to administrators, teachers, and students; and facilitated decision-making based on their experience rather than speculation from reading catalogues. The Upward Bound staff also structured two college days during the school year when seniors still in high school visited University of Massachusetts, attended classes, and stayed with former Upward Bound students. This provided students with a more adequate comprehension of the academic and social realities of college life.

Upward Bound: Strengths

An overall look at the 1971-1972 Upward Bound program reveals areas of both strength and weakness. Upward Bound was strong in that true Upward Bound students had been se-

lected for the program. More specifically this meant that Upward Bound was composed of students who were failing in school although they had the potential to succeed in college. Some of these students also had serious personal and family problems.

Upward Bound had a healthy community environment supplemented by a strong counseling component. Frequent small group and general program meetings led to effective ways of coping with individual and community problems.

The program offered a wide variety of academic and cultural activities. Academic exposure included the use of innovative techniques in addition to independent study courses in which students could pursue their own areas of study. Typical public school devices such as punishment, grades, competition, and course tracking were used minimally during the summer program. This, combined with a diversified and highly motivated teaching staff, fostered an excited student body.

In a real sense, Upward Bound, Amherst, was a program centered around its student body, attempting to meet individual and collective needs simultaneously. Student government played a major part in decision making, creating an atmosphere in which students were responsible for what happened in the program and in their lives. The governing body was carried over into the follow-up program, thereby maintaining year-round identification with the summer program and provid-

ing the framework for ongoing counseling and tutorial services.

The program maintained a strong relationship with the University of Massachusetts. The University of Massachusetts made available faculty, facilities, and resources. The Financial Aid Office and Admissions Office opened the way for qualified Upward Bound students to begin their college educations.

The fact that Upward Bound was a community with all staff residing in the dormitory was another strong point. This fostered a degree of equality among staff which otherwise might have been lacking. The concept of community became more of a reality with the staff participating in all social, recreational, and cultural elements of the program. Heads of residence in each dormitory served as focal points in the program community, coordinating counselors and activities, and providing a central area where students could meet and "hang-out."

A summer tutorial program was implemented for students to receive make-up credits for courses failed in high school. Agreements between high school personnel and Upward Bound staff had previously been made so that students could receive credit. This meant that students were not discouraged and disheartened in their regular high school programs.

Upward Bound: Weaknesses

Of course the Upward Bound program had weaknesses too. Because of the intensity of the residential summer program the staff underwent many personal adjustments. Despite weekend breaks and scheduled days off, staff members were exhausted by the end of 11 weeks in the program. Living in the dormitory with high school students can be an extremely draining experience, as many staff members soon realized. Personal time clocks were discarded as the program adopted its own schedule with built-in curfews and weekend trips returning at 4:00 a.m. Gradually this dampened some staff members' enthusiasm, which in turn detracted from the program.

Students, too, were affected by the intensity of a close quarters live-in program. At the close of every Upward Bound summer when students became anxious about the termination of the program and at other peak points in the summer, pressure would mount and personal and social difficulties would rapidly ensue. Individuals would begin skipping classes, violating curfew, and psychologically withdrawing from the program. It was common at these times for racial tensions to climax too.

Thess problems were nothing unusual--they happened every summer and were typical growing problems for adolescents. Acting out was precipitated by the almost ideal community living situation and quickly cropped up due to the close-knit quarters of the program. In a short term sense there was a

problem. In a long term sense, however, the rapid emergence of personal problems allowed staff to deal with the issues by providing the necessary counseling and therefore aid the student in better understanding and coming to grips with himself and his world.

The fact that the follow-up portion of the program covered a geographic spread throughout Western Massachusetts was somewhat of a weakness for the program. Because of the lack of an adequate number of full-time staff members and the distance of some of the communities, it spread the staff thin, not allowing enough time for professional growth or an interchanging of ideas. The distance also affected the impact the program might have had on individual school systems. In addition tutorial programs were difficult to set up especially in the rural communities because of the physical distance and the availability of community resources. Therefore in order to minimize the amount of time spent in traveling and have more time with students, the staff met with the other Western Massachusetts Upward Bound program to consolidate the areas covered and assure there would be no duplication of communities.

Summary

In looking at the overall structure of the 1971-1972 Upward Bound program, it is evidently an ambitious program with strong summer and follow-up components. There is a full

year continuity in the goals of the program, providing sometimes frightened, lonely, and troubled adolescents with a solid foundation and a sense of security. Ultimately the true value of the program lies not on paper but in its functional ability to help students mature personally, socially and politically. Hence, Chapter IV, the Results, will show if the program is, in practice, true to its description.

C H A P T E R I V

RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter will examine and integrate the data to evaluate the Upward Bound program's influence on twelve graduate students. The data was collected using a written questionnaire and an interview. These procedures helped validate the reported data by permitting evaluation of both the written and verbal spheres of self report and greatly eliminated chances of inconsistent data.

Five main categories in the subjects' lives were investigated in the study. These particular five areas were chosen because they involved the most crucial aspects of the Upward Bound students' worlds and areas most likely to be affected by participation in the Upward Bound program. The following discussion will outline the five areas.

1) Self. The study examined the subjects' perceptions about the impact of the Upward Bound program in relationship to whether students became more or less accepting and aware of themselves, whether students gained an increased ability to make constructive decisions, and whether students experienced themselves as more or less responsible, accountable human beings.

2) Family. The study analyzed subjects' thoughts and feelings about their families. Issues that were examined

included the Upward Bound program's affect on the subjects' relationship with their families, their development of a more adequate understanding about their families, their perceptions of their families' attitudes toward them, and changes in other factors related to the family relationship.

3) Friends. The third category examined the Upward Bound students' relationship with their friends. As a result of the Upward Bound experience were the same friends retained or were new friendships formed at the end of the summer program when they returned to their home communities? If there were changes, why? Did the subjects participate in the same activities? Was this affected by the Upward Bound program?

4) Academics and school. The study looked at how Upward Bound affected the students' educational world during their participation in the program. Did absenteeism decrease, did grades improve, did curriculum change and was there a difference in attitude towards school?

5) Significance of the future. The fifth category in the study looked at the students' concern for the future as this related to the Upward Bound experience. Did their perspective of the future change or remain the same? If it changed was there more clarity and a better sense of direction by each subject? Were the changes positive or negative? Where does each subject think s/he might be now, three years later, without involvement in the Upward Bound program?

The first section of this chapter will describe the twelve subjects' profiles examining their financial backgrounds, family make-up, curriculum levels, rank in class, high school grades, absentee records, and current situations. Following will be a description of the findings in each of the five categories of the subjects' responses to the interview and questionnaire. As the reader may well imagine the five areas are not mutually exclusive causing an overlap of data from one area to the next. Therefore the reader should keep in mind that the data in any one given area may be reflective of data in any of the four other areas of investigation.

Profile of the Subjects

Financial Background

All of the subjects were originally selected for the Upward Bound program because of their low income backgrounds, "high risk" student status (i.e., a student who is performing poorly in high school and who might be a discipline problem, but who has the potential to achieve good grades), and/or a student who has home problems. When the students entered the Upward Bound program, only three of their families were self supportive, receiving no public assistance. One family of four earned $3340, another family of three lived on a total of $3000 a year, and another student was being supported by his brother on less than $1000 a year. All of the remaining

nine subjects came from families which received partial or full public assistance. Two of the subjects' families received partial public assistance, while the remaining seven families were recipients of full public aid (full public aid in 1971 was $3820.80 for the full year for a family of four).

Family Constitution

Generally the subjects came from large families. Two subjects had only one sibling, while another two had the largest number--six siblings. Only one subject had two siblings, three subjects had three siblings, two subjects had four siblings, and two subjects had five siblings.

The twelve subjects came from varied parental home situations. Three of the subjects lived with both their mother and father. Another subject lived with her mother and stepfather. Thus, only four subjects lived with two parents in the home environment. Five of the remaining subjects lived with only one parent in the home--their mother. Of these five, only one of the mothers was actually divorced, one subject's father was deceased, and the remaining three fathers' whereabouts were unknown. The remaining three subjects came from three distinct home situations: one was a warden of the state moving among several different foster homes under the auspices of the Division of Child Guardianship, one lived with her sister, and one lived with his father's friend.

Curriculum Level

Two of the subjects were enrolled in high school honors courses for short periods which lasted no longer than a year. Three students were enrolled in college preparatory courses, while another eight took business or general courses and were advised against planning toward college entrance. For one student there was no high school record because he immigrated from Latin America and had not attended high school in the United States. While enrolled in Upward Bound he did take night classes to learn English. Consequently, the academic analysis will look closely at eleven, rather than twelve subjects. Another subject withdrew after the eleventh grade, which makes his records incomplete. However he did continue at an alternative school which did not give grades.

Rank in Class

Most of the subjects were in the bottom ranking of their high school senior class. The following chart illustrates the subjects' ranks.

RANK IN CLASS

1)	519 out of 530	7)	106 out of 180
2)	207 out of 412	8)	155 out of 199
3)	384 out of 412	9)	443 out of 447
4)	205 out of 412	10)	307 out of 432
5)	202 out of 210	11)	withdrew
6)	37 out of 210		

High School Grades

The chart on page 132 illustrates the change in the students' high school grade averages corresponding to the number of years they were enrolled in Upward Bound. From the prior year to their first year in Upward Bound five students showed a decrease in grade point averages: one by one point, one by two points, one by four points, and two by five points. Two of the students' averages remained the same while three students' grade averages increased: one by two points, one by six points, and one by sixteen points. Therefore from the year before they entered the program to their first year in the program five students stayed in a grade range of one to two points, three students went down between four and five points, and two students' grades increased six and sixteen points respectively.

Going into their second year of Upward Bound fewer students showed a decrease in grade point averages. Only two students' grades declined: one two points
and one ten points. Three students' averages remained the same as the past year, while three students' grade averages rose: two three points, and one four points. One other student transferred to a non-grading alternative school so that marks were unavailable for him that year. Therefore three students remained within a 1-2 point difference from their first year in the program, one student's marks went down three and ten points, and three students' grades rose between three and four

points repsectively.

Four of six students who were in the program for three years showed increases in their averages: two rose three points, one rose 16 points, and one rose 17 points. Only two students' grades declined: one only one point and one nine points.

Only one student was enrolled in Upward Bound for over three years. She demonstrated a significant grade increase from her third to fourth year in the program raising her average nine points.

If the mean grade point averages are examined, one can see that there is a sharp increase from the prior year to the third year in the program. In the prior year to Upward Bound participation the mean average of all the grades was 71.9. The first year of the program showed a slight increase of just about one point to a total of 72.8. In the second year of the program the mean grade average rose again to a total of 73.0. The third year showed a marked increase. No students had all F's during this year and the mean jumped almost five points to a total of 77.7. Thus it is evident that the number of years students were enrolled in Upward Bound had a significant influence on students' grades.

Absentee Records

The chart on page 135 illustrates the number of days students were absent from high school in relation to the

High School Grade Averages by

Years in Upward Bound

	Prior Yr. Grade Average	First Year in Program	Second Year in Program	Third Year in Program	Fourth Year in Program
Entered Upward Bound in 9th grade					
Subject #1	NA	73	76	67	76
Entered Upward Bound in 10th grade					
Subject #2	65	71	All F's	77	
Subject #3	79	75	79	78	
Subject #4	77	77	80	83	
Subject #5	72	74	72	75	
Subject #6	75	70	70	86	
Entered Upward Bound in 11th grade					
Subject #7	61	77	77		
Subject #8	All F's	All F's	alter. school		
Subject #9	72	70	70		
Subject #10	night school				
Entered Upward Bound in 12th grade					
Subject #11	75	76			
Subject #12	83	78			

number of years they spent in Upward Bound. One subject attended several schools during the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th grades because she lived in several different foster homes in different communities under the auspices of the Division of Child Guardianship. The schools misplaced one of two years of absentee records for three of the students, leaving incomplete data in the study. Although available data was collected and analyzed, it was based on available information.

Five students showed more days absent their first year in the program as compared to their prior year of program enrollment: one, 1 day; one, 9 days; one, 10 days, one, 18 days; and one, 73 days. Two students' days of nonattendance decreased: one, 3 days, and one, 7 days. Four of the subjects' records for this period of time were not available.

The number of days absent during the second year of Upward Bound enrollment as compared to the first year of enrollment showed four students' absentee records increased: one, 3 days; one, 8 days; one, 10 days; and one, 46 days. As in the previous year two students' attendance improved: one by 6 days and one by 17 days. One student had the same number of days absent for both years.

Contrasting the second and third years of enrollment in Upward Bound, high school records showed an improvement in school attendance. Only one subject out of five was absent more than 9 days. Three of four students were absent sig-

nificantly fewer days: one, 12 days; one, 21 days; and one, 37 days. Therefore the results show that there was an improvement in attended days of high school relative to the number of years of participation in the Upward Bound program.

Even though there was individual improvement, the majority of students were absent more than 14 days or two weeks during each school year. In the year prior to Upward Bound six students were absent more than two weeks; in the first year of upward Bound seven students were absent over two weeks, in the second year five students were absent over two weeks, in the third year (out of five) students were absent over two weeks, and in the fourth year the one student was absent well over two weeks. Consequently it can be concluded that Upward Bound students retained generally high rates of absenteeism regardless of their enrollment in Upward Bound, but demonstrated an increase in grades.

Years in the Program

The twelve subjects spent varying amounts of time in the program. Only one subject was recruited in the 9th grade. She spent a little over three years and four summers in the program. Five other subjects participated in Upward Bound from 10th grade, for three summers or 2-1/2 years. Another four subjects entered Upward Bound in 11th grade so spent two summers or 1-1/2 years in the program. The remaining two subjects were both in critical situations during their senior year of high school and subsequently were recruited into the

Number of Days Absent from High School

by Years in Upward Bound

	Prior Yr. Days Absent	First Year in Program	Second Year in Program	Third Year in Program	Fourth Year in Program
Entered Upward Bound in 9th grade					
Subject #1	NA	NA	NA	NA	42
Entered Upward Bound in 10th grade					
Subject #2	47	57	103	66	
Subject #3	8	9	3	12	
Subject #4	12	9	9	7	
Subject #5	18	27	35	23	
Subject #6	NA	17	27	6	
Entered Upward Bound in 11th grade					
Subject #7	58	76	59		
Subject #8	15	88	alter. school		
Subject #9	NA	20	23		
Subject #10	night school				
Entered Upward Bound in 12th grade					
Subject #11	54	47			
Subject #12	18	NA			

program for one year and one summer. One of these two subjects had dropped out of school, was hanging out on the streets, and beginning to use hard drugs. The second of the recruited two seniors was ironically doing well in school but had severe home problems. Her future looked bleak--she would accept any first dead-end job that came along to get out of her home as fast as possible.

Since all the subjects shared the year 1972, or their senior years in the Upward Bound program, one can take an overall look at grades and attendance records from that year knowing all the subjects were in the program. The records show that grades improved and attendance was somewhat better although still high when looked at on an individual basis. Therefore there is a definite correlation between the amount of time spent in Upward Bound and the students' academic records and attendance. Furthermore, despite high humbers of nonattended school days, Upward Bound students' grades still improved.

Current Situations

Currently eleven of the twelve subjects are single with no children. One person is married, supporting his wife and child. Seven of the twelve are presently enrolled in college. The seven college students include five juniors, one sophomore, and one freshman. Of the remaining five, one had competed a full year of college and plans to go back to

school; one has completed less than one-half year of college and plans to return; and another has completed less than one-half of a semester of college and plans to return. One of the other two subjects is working full time supporting his wife and child and has aspirations of going to college (but is doubtful if it can become a reality), and the other plans to enter college at some point in the future. Therefore, four out of the five subjects not presently enrolled in college stated that they had intentions to enter or reenter college at a later date.

Four of the five subjects who are not in college presently are working full time, living independently of their families. The fifth is living with his family and has no current means of income, but is enrolled in a work training program. Thus, only one of the twelve subjects is still financially dependent on his family.

In conclusion the Upward Bound subjects came from generally large families, predominantly with only one parent (the mother) in the home. Most of the families received full public assistance, with a few receiving partial public assistance and a few self supportive but still below the poverty guidelines. Three subjects had unique living situations --one lived in several foster homes, one immigrated from Latin America and lived with his father's friends, and one lived with her sister.

Although small parts of a few students' academic records had been misplaced, most of the records were intact and available. It was found that most subjects' grade averages improved as a result of their participation in Upward Bound with mean grade averages for the entire subject population increasing by almost six points from the year prior to Upward Bound enrollment to their third year in the program. Although there was an improvement in individual attendance records, the majority of Upward Bound subjects were absent over 14 days of public school each year they were in Upward Bound. However, the results show that grades improved despite the frequent number of nonattended days of school. Most subjects were also located at the bottom ranks of their class.

The subjects were enrolled in the program for varying lengths of time. One subject was in the program for over three years, five subjects for 2-1/2 years, four subjects for 1-1/2 years, and two subjects for one year due to the need for immediate intervention.

Currently seven subjects are enrolled in college as full time students. Another four have attended college and plan to return. All of these eleven subjects are single, while the twelfth who does not consider college in the future is married with a child.

Of the five subjects not presently in college four are working and financially independent and one is enrolled in a work training program learning a trade. Thus, all the sub-

jects are either college students, working, or preparing to work, and all but one subject aspires to complete college.

Results of the Interview and Questionnaire

The Self

1) General feelings about oneself. The first question of the interview investigates whether the Upward Bound program affected the subjects' overall feelings about their self image. It was a general lead-in question designed to begin the interview and get a basic perception of the individual's feelings about themselves and Upward Bound. The question and statement addressing this issue read:

> Interview: As a result of your Upward Bound experience did your feelings about yourself change at all? How so?
> Questionnaire: Upward Bound helped me to see myself better.

The responses on the questionnaire showed that 100% of the subjects saw their self images as having been affected by their participation in the Upward Bound program: six subjects marked 'agree' (A) and six subjects marked 'strongly agree' (SA). Nine, or 75% of the twelve subjects' interview data substantiated the questionnaire responses. One of the subjects stated that he couldn't "get into it" at that time. Two subjects contradicted their choice of 'agree' on the questionnaire stating in the interview that their feelings about themselves had not changed as a result of the Upward

Bound experience.

Some responses from the subjects who did report a change in feelings about themselves follow:

> --Definitely! . . . . Through the Bound I became aware of myself as a woman, and more aware of the situation of poor people . . . I grew. My interests were awakened, I read on subjects . . . . I became aware of my whole thinking process.
>
> --Well, like I wanted to do a lot of things, right, but I was afraid in the back of my mind that I can't do it. But after a couple in Upward Bound told me, well, you know, you can do it if you want, you can succeed if you want, I sort of got convinced. Cause college, I was thinking a lot about college but I didn't think I could do it.
>
> --Yes, it did. It changed because I was a very stiff type of person . . . . I don't know, I just felt down and out and Upward Bound, you know, just gave me the feeling that I was somebody, made me feel that I'm unique, like I'm an individual, and it made me feel as though that what I have to say, it may not be equal to what somebody else has said but I said it and I'm the only person that has said it. It's important!
>
> --Yeah, I guess I got a little bit more open minded . . . . I just learned to look at a person for a person, you know.
>
> --Well I wasn't really interested in school and I had more positive ideas towards education. It just made me look more at myself and see the bad points and the good points. And to develop myself into getting the bad points into good points.
>
> --Yeah, they changed good . . . . Most of the time I used to think about myself but down there I thought about other people. Most of the people was together. Everybody talking about his problems. I think it was good down there . . . changed a lot about myself.
>
> --Yes I used to think I wasn't good enough for people, and things like that so I wouldn't say too much and I was really clammed up. Hell, I'm as good as the next person though.

> --Yes they did . . . . I quit drugs . . . . I didn't think I was anything but a street person and that's where my heart belonged . . . and then when I realized being around people that were as poor as I was and they were in the same position I was, a lot of them, you know, just getting away, just looking at something else, I just realized that there was another way . . . .
>
> --Yeah! I think I'm the Baddest person on earth. The program helped me feel very secure within myself. I got over my shyness that year too. As a person I became open and kinda bold. I'm not afraid to deal with issues anymore, like I used to be.

2) Got to know themselves better. The second interview question analyzes more specificly the subjects' feelings about themselves. The question focused on a possible positive result of their participation in the Upward Bound program--whether their experience in the program helped them to know themselves any better. The question and statement addressing this issue read:

> Interview: From your Upward Bound experience do you feel you got to know yourself any better? In what ways?
> Questionnaire: My Upward Bound experience didn't help me to get to know myself any better.

The responses to the questionnaire showed that subjects overwhelmingly reported that the program did help them to see themselves better. 91.7% of eleven of twelve subjects responded that they disagreed with the statement: eight circled 'strongly disagree' (SD), three circled 'disagree' (D), and one circled 'undecided' (U).

Eleven out of twelve subjects' interview responses support the questionnaire responses. The twelfth subject, who marked U, disclosed in the interview a strong statement of how she got to know herself better through the Upward Bound program. Her response read as follows:

> --Yes, to get along with other people better . . . . I think that's one of the main things. Like you see people, you understand their problems, they understand yours, kind of talk to 'em . . . . not on levels like you do in school. Like you know that's the professor and sometimes you're just scared to talk to the professor. And it's kind of different, a different experience. Upward Bound helped me to deal with that . . . like a person.

Some of the subjects who did feel they got to know themselves better said the following:

> --To examine my own thoughts, to examine other people's thoughts.
>
> --Yes. Well I never thought about being quiet or being shy or anything like that. I guess when I went to Upward Bound I was made to realize because when other people spoke out and when I wanted to say something I couldn't say anything because I was too shy, too quiet to say anything . . . and others would be talking and I would want to get my opinion in. Things like that made me realize that I was quiet.
>
> --I found out a lot of things about me. About how immature I was and how I couldn't cope with the situation. I was so used to being led and in Upward Bound you're on your own more or less . . . . Upward Bound, it sort of awakens you . . . it gave me a sense of independence.
>
> --Yeah, it made me a little more independent, and I probably would have ended up dropping out of school and getting married and getting pregnant.

--I looked at things differently from being in Upward Bound like before if something happened I'd take it at face value and not look at it deeply. . .

--Somewhat. After going there I finally decided I wanted to go back to school . . . . Well, when I wasn't going there, I quit high school, when I was 16. I got back to high school and I got into the Bound. I think it was '71 and I finished high school in March and I went back for that last year.

--Yes! I don't know, I feel better!

--Yeah, cause just you know, you get to know yourself cause you're meeting people just like you. They just seem to be in the same situations, you can identify with the people so you can learn from them and therefore, evaluate your own mind and the experiences and what you would have done in their spot.

--Yeah. It's a very hard question. But yeah . . . school . . . my attitude towards home and stuff like that.

--Yes, a whole lot better. New things opened up to me. Classes that they had in the program were good. There was one dealing with black issues which helped open up and evolve a whole new part of me. I really like that part of me, too.

3) Gained ability and confidence in decision-making.

The third question analyzes whether or not the Upward Bound program had an impact on subjects' confidence and ability to make decisions. The question and statement addressing this issue read:

Interview: As a result of your Upward Bound experience did your ability and confidence to make decisions change at all? How so? Can you give me any examples?

Questionnaire: My experience in the Upward Bound helped me in my ability to make decisions.

Eleven of twelve subjects (91.7%) responded on the questionnaire that they agreed that Upward Bound had influenced their decision making: four 'strongly agreed' (SA), seven 'agreed' (A). The twelfth subject chose 'undecided' (U). Three of the eleven (27.2%) subjects who 'agreed' in the questionnaire did not substantiate their statements in the interview. Their statements ranged from simply a flat 'No,' to 'I don't think so,' to 'I don't think Upward Bound had anything to do with it.' The one subject who marked 'undecided' revealed in the interview that Upward Bound had an impact on her confidence and ability to make decisions. Her response was as follows:

> --Upward Bound laid the format to do this. Whether you did it or not was on you. Sometimes I made good decisions. There was nobody to say go to bed, you know, so I'd just stay up. There was nobody to say you're not supposed to swear . . . you know . . . I just swore. It was this thing where nobody said you have to wear a bra and this and that and this and that, you wear what you want to wear. So in some things I did pretty good and made the decisions, then in other things, wow, it was something else. But it was good . . .

Some responses from the subjects whose interviews did agree with their questionnaire choices indicated that they were affected by Upward Bound in their confidence and ability to make decisions. Responses follow:

> --It made me aware that I had to look deeper. It's not a matter of the Bound helping to come to decisions. Well I guess it is in a way because they never gave you the answers, but helped you with a format that made you look into yourself.

--Yeah, definitely. My mother would tell you I wouldn't even go to the store by myself, I would not even ride a bus downtown, and as far as picking out presents and stuff like that I wouldn't even do that. It was my opinion that nobody would like them but I look at it this way. I'm buying the present and I think I make pretty good judgments . . . . Well college is one [example]. I didn't think I could make it without . . . . It was hard when I came up here cause it wasn't UMass and Upward Bound was nowhere around. And I had to make the decisions so I made it to come up here to a smaller college and probably do better.

--Yup. I wasn't really confident at making decisions at all before and I was sort of back and forth. And just like talking to people in Upward Bound, you know, I could get confidence . . . I wasn't really planning to go to college like my senior year in high school I was taking business courses and ready to just take a job but ummm, well Tony (Upward Bound staff) came along and talked to me and convinced me that I could go to college and I would get financial aid and so I ended up here.

--. . . I never think about I want to get married, I want to still study. I come up here and make the decision to get married.

--Yeah, I think it did cause I made a lot of decisions. As far as the Bound was concerned and me and everything . . . . Well, I learned to think out some things instead of just jumping the gun you know . . . . I used to always jump the gun no matter what you know . . . I don't know. Well my last year I decided I couldn't take some of it so I decided I was definitely going to leave there for a week, and I came back. Then I started doing a little bit more of my school work.

--Well, I wouldn't make any drastic decisions about myself or my life because everything was so disatrous. None of the people I know would take chances so I didn't make any decisions or take chances either. But after Upward Bound I began to make decisions and one decision led to another. Oh, examples: there are many. Well, to go to school, to get away from people that were doing me wrong, to be out on my own and stop leaning on people I thought were my friends.

--Yes. I became more secure and began trusting my own opinions more. I thought I was a BAAAADDD person so obviously I began respecting my own opinions as well. An example . . . if it hadn't been for Upward Bound I know I would have dropped out of high school after first semester. But because of the Bound I decided I couldn't leave so I returned to school.

4) More or less responsible as a person. The fourth interview question examined whether or not Upward Bound had an affect on subjects' increasing or decreasing self responsibility. The question and statement addressing this issue read as follows:

Interview: From your Upward Bound experience did you become either more or less responsible as a person? How so? Can you give me any examples?
Questionnaire: Upward Bound helped me to become a more responsible person.

Two-thirds, or eight of the subjects agreed with the questionnaire that Upward Bound had an affect on their becoming more responsible. One subject was undecided, while three subjects disagreed.

The subject who chose 'undecided' (U) on the questionnaire indicated strongly in the interview that the Upward Bound experience influenced her becoming a more accountable person. Her statement read as follows:

--Yeah, definitely. More responsible . . . . Well, responsibility wise when my family was concerned I had to take it so it wasn't even a matter of assuming responsibility it was just forced on me. But responsibilities for myself, they helped

> me form . . . like they set up the rules well each year as we went along the rules got stricter . . . . you know there was an honor system so the responsibility was placed upon you and you could do what you wanted.

Of the three subjects who marked 'disagree' (D) on the questionnaire, one stated in the interview that she 'stayed the same'; a second informed the interviewer that she was still not responsible, saying, 'I don't think that Upward Bound had anything to do with it because I'm not very responsible. I'm working on it'; a third interpreted the question as having responsibility to the Upward Bound program, stating, 'I don't think it changed my responsibilities much cause I, that's just how I feel. I didn't feel I was responsible towards anything to do with the place, I didn't feel I had to answer to anybody. I don't think it made me more responsible.'

Some interview responses from subjects who agreed that Upward Bound influenced their becoming more responsible individuals read as follows:

> --Oh, definitely. You know it! Getting my shit together completely, going to school, getting everything together. Homework and shit like that, and getting everything down pat.

> --. . . I was afraid that I'd have to be too responsible once I took on the responsibility. Like college, you know, once I got up here I knew, I thought I had to stay and would have to stay. But I wasn't gonna do it, but I would and I stuck with it. But man, I do things, and whatever turns up is up.

--I think so . . . . Everyone has to cooperate with each other and make decisions. You do have a responsibility, to be cool, you know . . . . I'm not saying to be totally submissive, hey, . . .

--Like the summer you just get away from home and being up there with students and you're sort of on your own, you know, without parental supervision and you had to make decisions on your own.

--Yeah, I think so. I matured a lot you know, because I was really kind of like on my own. I didn't have any parents around to tell me what to do and what time to come in, I just naturally grew up a lot the first year I was there.

--Right, I became a lot more responsible for myself. I stopped being responsible for the other people that don't take responsibility for themselves, you know, they tread right on you.

--Yes, more responsible. I felt responsible for myself because I gained the understanding that no one cares unless I do first. First I had to become responsible for myself, and then I could be responsible for other people . . . . An example . . . Well, no one else was going to find a job for me, that I knew. So I had to get out and do it for myself, take that responsibility.

The Family

5) General relationship with family. The fifth question examined whether the Upward Bound experience had any influence on the subjects' relationships with their families. This question was the first relating to the subjects' families, and therefore was a general probe in an attempt to open the new topic. The question and statement addressing this issues read as follows:

Interview: Did your Upward Bound experience affect your relationship with your family? In what

ways? Can you give me any examples?
Questionnaire: As a result of my Upward Bound experience I began having different kinds of problems in my family.

Responding to the questionnaire, four subjects agreed that the Upward Bound experience did precipitate different kinds of problems in the family: two 'agreed' (A); two 'strongly agreed' (SA); while two subjects were 'undecided' (U); and five subjects disagreed that different family problems arouse: one 'disagreed' (D), four 'strongly disagreed' (SD). For one subject who lived in several different homes the question was not applicable.

Four subjects' interview responses agree with their questionnaire choices, leaving eight subjects' interview responses disagreeing with their questionnaire selections. One subject who selected 'strongly sgree' said, 'No, I've been very close with my family and I'm still very close.'

One subject who checked 'agree' on the questionnaire revealed in the interview that the question was not relevant. 'I never knew when I came to this country I guess I did by myself for three years I live by myself. My parents they know I go to school but they don't know where . . .'

One subject who checked 'undecided' disclosed in the interview that Upward Bound had affected her relationship with her family. '. . . I always looked down on my mother because I thought she'd be able to give me nice clothes and she'd be able to give me that, you know, and I thought she was doing

things with the welfare money just so I couldn't get it, you know, and I thought there had to be a better way of life. And then I saw all those other people in the Upward Bound program and they had either less and in a lot of cases they had one or more of their parents alcoholics and they smoked cigarettes which my mother didn't do, and because they were running around with other men and doing a lot of things to disrupt their lives and my mother wasn't. Even though our family isn't close enough to say 'I love you' to me or to each other, I just realized that it was there just remembering that I saw other people that never had it. I didn't realize how good I had it. When I was living in _____ everyone else had a lot of things, you know, just like a middle class community . . . there were hardly any low income people and there are really no slums to speak of and so you know, maybe only a couple of streets, so you see how the other side lives.'

The one subject who checked 'disagree' said in the interview, 'It might have a little bit . . . . Well before I was just going to get a job and my family accepted that. Like me going to college and like even now my parents want to see my brothers and sisters go to college like me. Like it has pushed education in the family. I'ts affected the family in that way.'

The four subjects who selected 'strongly disagree' on the questionnaire all spoke about how Upward Bound <u>did</u> influ-

ence their family relationships. Their statements are as follows:

> --Sort of. My mother was kind of proud of me.
>
> --My mother . . . I used to play with my mother all the time, about the Bound. I guess she had my father's view that I really didn't need to go to college. They were both working in factories. My dad finished high school in the army and my mother quit in her senior year. My dad didn't believe that higher education for women should exist. If I hadn't gotten in the Bound I would have never gone.
>
> --No, but yeah. They gave me more freedom. They knew I could handle it and wouldn't get into any trouble. So it changed the way he treated me.
>
> --Yes. My mother respected me for real. She would ask me to teach her all the time. "Teach me some things you learned up there," she would say to me. She would ask me because I would come back from Upward Bound just bubbling with all that stuff I learned during the summer.

The two subjects who felt Upward Bound influenced their family relationships and whose interview responses matched their questionnaire selections said the following:

> --Just a little bit. 'Cause in a way I changed . . . . They would notice the change and you know, just little actions . . . so they could not understand how come I made that change . . . but they finally compromised . . .
>
> --Well it's personal. When I was first away from them the first year, like I never really had been away from home. I was really lonely then cause I never realy thought over well how much do I love this person or that person you know, in your family, and it gets you thinking, you know, that you really do love them and you appreciate seeing them.

6. Altered attitudes and understanding of families. The sixth question investigated how the subjects' attitude and understanding of their families was changed. The question and statement addressing this issue read as follows:

> Interview: Has your Upward Bound experience changed your attitude and understanding of your family at all? How so?
> Questionnaire: My Upward Bound experience helped me to understand my family better.

The responses to the questionnaire showed that nine subjects (75%) agreed; six checked 'strongly agree' (SA), three checked 'agree' (A), two were 'undecided' (U), and one checked 'disagree' (D). Ten of the twelve subjects' interview responses supported their questionnaire selections. One of the other subjects, who circled 'agree', stated in the interview that she 'Didn't think so.' The subject who checked 'disagree' in the questionnaire stated in the interview, 'Well, not really. One thing did happen though. I did become more aware of how they felt about me. I wasn't right in my room, they couldn't always put the finger on me when . . . so it showed how intensive their love for me was in their interest in me.'

The two subjects who were undecided in the questionnaire stated the following in the interview:

> --No, I grew up a little bit more. I took on more responsibilities in the family, you know, when my mother went out I'd take care of the kids but I guess with a growing up experience you have to take

on responsibilities. Like I said if my mother wanted me to go downtown or something I wouldn't do it but I guess after Upward Bound I would.

--Yes it did. Because I was away in the program for the summer so for the first time I really missed them. I got the feeling of missing somebody really deep. But I don't think my understanding really changed though.

The remaining subjects who all agreed that Upward Bound changed their attitudes and understanding of their families said the following:

--It kind of changed my values in a way cause my family had very old fashioned values and I had them too. And I guess it kind of changed those values in a way. Like you know, old fashioned values like people shouldn't go out till 2:00 in the morning or stay up till that late . . . . Yes, more independent. Cause I used to be very dependent! . . . . In a way, relating to other people, and doing those things Upward Bound helped me to be kind of more independent.

--Yes, Upward Bound helped me to understand what it was to be low income, and that you don't have to be shod upon unless you allowed it. You know, and being ignorant you were allowing it.

--Yeah. Like the ivy league education was the thing I should do. I should grow up and go to Wellsley. I should be a poo-poo and all this. And that changed . . . because Upward Bound didn't stress education for me anyway, it stressed how I felt, what I should do, if education was there fine, if it wasn't fine. You know, developing me.

--Yeah, definitely. Well, there's some prejudice in every household. I guess you know, but I understand where it comes from. They were probably raised just like I was. Like the way he raised me his father probably raised him that way. I can deal with it now.

--I understand them.

--Well, like right now, I'm my own person. And being at school the family situation is there but you don't get involved in it. And you're like an outsider looking at the family now and you can pick different viewpoints about it.

--Upward Bound helped me become more aware of the difficulties they go through. Before I would have gotten all upset and said it's just a stage they're going through instead of looking underneath and saying, "Well, maybe there are some problems!" I just gained a lot more perspective.

7) Changes in family perceptions of subjects. The seventh question examines if the Upward Bound experience made an impact on how the subjects' families saw them, based on the subjects' perceptions. The question and statement addressing this issue read as follows:

Interview: Has your Upward Bound experience changed how your family sees and feels towards you? How so?
Questionnaire: My family sees me better off because of my Upward Bound experience.

The questionnaires responses show that nine subjects (75%) agree that their families did see them differently as a result of their Upward Bound participation: seven subjects marked 'strongly agree' (SA), and two marked 'agree' (A). Three of the subjects selected the category 'undecided' (U).

All twelve subjects' interview responses support their questionnaire responses. Of the three subjects who were 'undecided', one's situation was not applicable because his family lived in another country, and the other two responded as follows:

--I don't think so.

''Well different places didn't like Upward Bound because they thought it would corrupt me . . . and I shouldn't be there . . . . They always thought I'd be up to something. (This subject lived in several different homes and therefore had several different family reactions.)

The nine subjects who reported that their families did see them differently said the following:

--I would imagine it did . . . . I just took it for granted, that it did change how they felt towards me. For one thing, pride, no one in my family, you know, made it through anything like that.

--Yes . . . they think I'm doing something, they think I'm capable of doing things. Before they were ashamed to admit that.

--I think I have already answered that. They thought that I had potential, and that is something that they never thought before.

--I can remember them saying that I acted more mature but then I didn't realize it. When I think back I certainly was.

--Well, I don't know . . . a little bit. . . . when I was in Upward Bound I'd speak what I feel . . . if I feel strongly about a subject . . . well when they got word of about how I always voiced my mind, I was like a big mouth of the program, they began to feel as though I had a little worth to me because I've never been the type of person that's made all A's in school, I never made even all B's, I've never even made the honor roll except for the sixth grade . . . but Upward Bound showed them that myabe I had other talents. I mean it wasn't necessarily to bring home all A's but I did have something I could offer and they became aware of that. And I think they were proud of me.

--Oh, yeah. They think it's a definite improvement. Well like, now I have a future. Before I was looking at the future--it comes as it comes.

I didn't have any really set goal. And I sort of stamped out whatever I was and I came back down to reality. They seen it right and think I benefitted from it a lot.

--He just thought I was more grown up and able to cope with different situations.

--My mother always said Upward Bound changed me and made me more flighty and uppity and all that. But then I came up here and got into the women's movement. Then she thought I'd really gone crazy.

--She felt proud of me.

Friends

8) General relationship with friends. The eighth question examines whether the Upward Bound program had any bearing on the subjects' relationship with friends. This question was a general leading question to broach the topic of friendship. The question and statement addressing this issue read:

Interview: As a result of your Upward Bound experience did anything happen between you and your friends' relationships?
Questionnaire: My Upward Bound experience didn't affect my relationships with old friends.

On the questionnaire six (50%) of the subjects agreed that Upward Bound did affect their relationship with old friends in some capacity--two marked 'strongly aggree' (SA) and four marked 'agree' (A). The other six disagreed that Upward Bound had influenced their relationships with friends --three marked 'disagree' (D) and three marked 'strongly dis-

agree' (SD).

Only one subject's interview response was contradictory to his questionnaire answer. The subject checked 'strongly disagree' on the questionnaire and stated in the interivew, "It was an experience that I went through and I told them about it and that's it."

Of those whose interview and questionnaire responses were in agreement that Upward Bound didn't affect their friendships, some of their statements read as follows:

> --Oh, I stayed with them.
>
> --I got new friends from Upward Bound and I still got my old friends. After the summer I still have the same friends.
>
> --Not really. Stayed the same. Stayed with old friends.
>
> --I hung around with the same people doing the same things.

Of the remaining four subjects who felt their relationships with friends changed, and whose interview and questionnaire were in agreement, some said the following:

> --Yeah, I got to understand them better because of the people I met up there were all different mixtures and everything. Usually I just hang around with white Anglo-Americans and aah, so when I hear them say something you know, like ahh, what about that nigger or something like that I say you know, what do you want to be like that for? I really got to be like that. But they won't change just because you say that . . .
>
> --Yes. We weren't friends anymore. When I came back I was really down on the kids because

> everyone had little cliques and things like that. I couldn't stand that anymore, besides I couldn't stand everybody not being as close as some of the kids were in Upward Bound. Between Blacks and Whites and everything. I couldn't stand that because everyone was separated. But part of the growing up process was that back home it was a different situation than Upward Bound was because Upward Bound was small and you could afford to get along in Upward Bound and when I came home people had to be different. I grew up, I went through that process . . .
>
> --Yeah, they really began to respect me back at home and in certain situations they recognized me as their spokesman. A lot of times they even asked me to be their spokesman.

9) and 10) New or old friends. The ninth and tenth questions examined whether or not Upward Bound had an affect on the subjects forming new friendships or retaining former friendships. The question and statement addressing this issue are listed below:

> Interview: Did you remain with former friends? (OR) Did you form new relationships? Why do you think this happened?
> Questionniare: Upward Bound helped me to develop skills and capacities to make new friends.

The responses on the questionnaire show subjects unanimously agreeing that their skills and capacities to make new friends improved: nine subjects 'strongly agreed' (SA) and three subjects 'agreed' (A).

Interviews also overwhelmingly supported questionnaire results. All the subjects responded that Upward Bound had an affect on their abilities to form new friendships. They also reported that new friendships were found through the program.

Some of the responses read as follows:

> --Yeah. Ummmmm Hmmmmm. I expanded my relationships with people I met in the Bound. I knew people all over the state.
>
> --Well, junior year I hung around by myself and senior year I started making new friends. And Upward Bound friends. It was rough, it really was getting along with the kids back home. I always looked forward to seeing another Upward Bound student.
>
> --Yeah, except for a couple. I grew away from a kid on the other side of the Parkway. It just didn't seem important to give him a ring anymore.
>
> --Yeah, then I branched out with some other friends. It was interesting because most of them were from the program and we kept in touch for a long time.

11) Same or different activities with friends. The eleventh question investigates whether Upward Bound had an impact on subjects engaging in the same or different activities with friends. If subjects reported that they did indulge in different activities, were those meaningful? The question and statement addressing this issue read as follows:

> Interview: From your Upward Bound experience did you do the same or different things with your friends? If so, what type of different activities did you engage in?
> Questionnaire: As a result of my Upward Bound experience, my activities with friends became more meaningful.

The questionnaire responses show that ten subjects (83.3%) agreed that their activities with friends became more meaningful to them as a result of the Upward Bound program:

five marked 'strongly agree' (SA), five marked 'agree' (A), and two subjects marked 'undecided' (U).

All twelve subjects' interview responses support their questionnaire selections. The two subjects who selected 'undecided' stated, "Same things, I think . . ." and "I came out of shyness a little then through the Bound and my senior year I met more people and was hanging around with different people. But I don't know whether that was really a reflection of the Bound."

Some of the responses of the other ten subjects whose questionnaire and interviews areeed read:

> --Different things because they were all still hitting up and I wasn't. And they began to look at me as an enemy in ways but not an enemy because they loved me. You know. But most of the conversation in the whole circle was to getting dope and if you're no longer involved in that circle the most you can do is to call up and say, "Hey, what's happening?"
>
> --Some the same, some different. Because before I never expressed myself to them, I kept things kind of to myself. Then I began expressing my opinions to them and shared ideas.
>
> -- . . . they didn't go there, it didn't change them. But I think they became more aware of what does on around us because I always talk like that, you know, I've got all my friends reading the newspapers now. They used to never read the newspapers and I start talking about something like when we're having a beer and they'd say, "What, what's going on?", you know, and I'd say, "Don't ya read the papers?" Now I get them aware of the world and I think that's important, you know, you gotta know.
>
> --Well, I'd say doing things with friends, the places, you know. Upward Bound appeared in the summer with blacks and Puerto Ricans. Like back at

> home you look at PR's like they're different because it's a mostly a white community and we started going places where there would be black kids and Puerto Rican kids, I had to convince my friends though. They were shocked at first. Before I think there was a fear not knowing what they were like or knowing them. Now we like going into integrated places.

Academics and School

12) Affect on schoolwork. The twelfth question examined whether or not the Upward Bound program had an affect on subjects' schoolwork. This was a general question meant to lead into the more specific questions of grades, curriculum, and attendance. The question and statement addressing this issue are listed below:

> Interview: As a result of the Upward Bound program did anything happen to your schoolwork? Did it improve, stay the same, or get worse?
> Questionnaire: Upward Bound had little or no affect on my schoolwork.

Eight questionnaire responses (58.3%) indicated that the Upward Bound program did have an impact on subjects' schoolwork, four marked 'agree' (A), and four marked 'strongly agree" (SA). One subject marked 'undecided' (U), three marked 'disagree' (D) and one marked 'strongly disagree' (SD).

Two of the subjects' interview responses were inconsistent with their questionnaire responses. One subject who marked 'agree' on the questionnaire stated in the interview, "Yeah, because I was out of it at the time I went back. Oh,

the first year I was there was before I went into that school." A second subject who selected 'strongly disagree' on the questionnaire disclosed in the interview that the program had helped her schoolwork. "The program helped me with my math. I was doing real bad in high school so I began tutoring and it helped me a lot. I think I had a C- and I went to a B+."

One of the two remaining subjects who reported on both the questionnaire and the interview that Upward Bound hadn't influenced his school work had come to the United States from Latin America and was enrolled in only night English classes. Therefore the questions were not relevant for him. The second subject eventually dropped out of high school and entered an alternative school. He said, "Nothing much happened to it. It just about stayed the same."

The one subject who selected 'undecided' looked at herself as a student with average academic capabilities and questioned whether Upward Bound could help her any more than she was already helping herself. "Well, no. I mean I ain't never gonna be the person to get all A's in school."

Some of the responses of the other subjects who reported on both the questionnaire and interview that Upward Bound had affected their schoolwork are listed below:

> --I never really liked school, anyway. Because of Upward Bound it made me look at the teachers. It made me look at what they were doing and how they were doing it. Instead of a real negative at-

titude towards school just trying to understand what the teacher was doing and if I didn't like it just don't do it and don't be afraid. More like a challenging thing, you know, it helped me not to be afraid of the principal or teacher . . . just go up and ask him what he's doing.

--After the Upward Bound summers I taught myself because I wanted to keep on learning. I read a lot. I tried to block out the whole systematic way of education and tried educating myself. In high school I became really radical, really dealing with issues and not letting people walk over me. I investigated those issues in the school with my friends too.

--Yes, the later part of my junior year my grades started picking up and my senior year I made honors which I never did . . . . It took two summers but I could see the improvement myself.

--Yeah, I buckled down to my work. Jim (Upward Bound staff) said if you don't do your work you're kicked out. And I wanted to go to college so I did the work.

--Definitely. Better! From my last year I really got it together because I wanted to go to school. I wanted a college education.

--It meant something, I could work for something. It gave me a chance to go to college, to UMass and as soon as I got to college I got on the honor roll. I didn't have to work hard, I just had to have a goal and be serious about it. I mean, I've worked harder cleaning the house.

13) Changes in attitudes toward school. This question examined whether Upward Bound had an impact on subjects' attitudes towards school. The question and statement addressing this issue read as follows:

Interview: As a result of your Upward Bound experience did your attitude towards school change at all? How so?
Questionnaire: Because of Upward Bound I gained a more positive attitude toward school.

The questionnaire responses show that eight (67.7%) of the subjects' attitudes were influenced by the Upward Bound program. Six subjects marked 'strongly agree' (SA), and two marked 'agree' (A). Three subjects were 'undecided' (U) and one subject marked 'disagree' (D).

Only one of the interview responses did not coincide with the questionnaire response: a subject who marked 'disagree' stated in the interview, "Yeah, it became sort of. I was living with a friend and you know, we went through some tough times together so I thought if I'm going through here I want to get something out of it."

Of the three subjects who selected 'undecided' on the questionnaire, one was only enrolled in English night classes; the question was irrelevant for him. The other two students stated that they realized the necessity for school but their attitudes remained negative: "Not really. I did better cause I wanted to be in the Bound. I still thought that school sucked and I still do."

Some of the other subjects who agreed that they had undergone some positive attitudinal changes as a result of their participation in the Upward Bound program said the following:

> --I would think so because I didn't know how much you need school just to get a job so like when you go into the world and see that there's no jobs you have to make . . . if you want to keep up with society you have to go to school, get an education, and go to work. I think that's the most important thing that Upward Bound did for me cause I didn't

realize how much you need school in a way. Sometimes I said 'I don't like school' and all that but you really do.

--Yeah, completely. I wanted to quit school and work at night . . . I really wanted to take a year off because I wanted to get my shit together. To make sure I knew exactly what I wanted. Through the program I realized I wanted a college education. I wanted to get a college education.

--Yes it did. It made me see how more terrible it was. I saw even deeper down into the problem. And I noticed after even my first year with Upward Bound and I came back even more dynamic. And that was in my senior year. That was the year I got onto the Youth Commission with the major. And I was on the school committee and stuff. And they was so scared because they didn't know what I was going to say at a meeting. So that changed.

--In Upward Bound you learn a lot of things and then you just go back and think about it. . . . I had my eye open a lot and I didn't all myself to be kicked around anymore by the guidance counselors.

--Yeah, I used to just get marks to get by. But I tried more . . . Well before school didn't really matter that much, just getting a high school diploma. You know, it was just something, just did it so you could pass. You know, Upward Bound sort of stressed education as important so you took more interest in your work. If you want to go to college they said you have to have sort of decent grades, so you know you did the best you could then. You tried.

--I really wanted my diploma so I could get into college. After having a little bit of college like I really wanted to get into college.

14) Grade changes. The fourteenth question investigated whether the Upward Bound program had influenced subjects' grades. The question and statement addressing this issue are listed below:

Interview: As a result of your Upward Bound experience did your grades change at all?
Questionnaire: I'd probably have gotten the same grades even if I didn't go to Upward Bound.

The questionnaire responses show that seven subjects (58.3%) indicated Upward Bound influenced their grades, five marked 'strongly disagree' (SD) and two marked 'disagree' (D). One subject marked 'undecided' (U) and four felt Upward Bound did not influence their grades: three circled 'agree' (A) and one circled 'strongly agree' (A).

Two subjects who marked on the questionnaire that their grades did not change as a result of the program contradicted themselves in the interview, stating that the program had helped them with their math. One said, "Yeah, the same except for mathematics, cause I started doing Algebra. They got me the books I needed, they went out and got me the books I needed, you know. Cause they got me the books that would bring me just a slight step by step."

The subject who marked 'undecided' on the questionnaire was the person who had immigrated from Latin America and did not have any grades to base his answer on, since he was enrolled in only night English courses.

All of the seven subjects who reported on the questionnaire that Upward Bound affected their grades supported this in the interview. Some of their statements are as follows:

--Well they went up. I'd never gotten below, like I usually pull a couple of C's, a couple of

B's, and one D. They all went up to A's and B's. Maybe one C.

--Yes, the later part of my junior year my grades started picking up and my senior year I made honors which I never did.

--Well, they got a little bit better, but it wasn't a drastic change. I was getting F's, but I did come up to a D. Well I had a lot of trouble in school. Because the high school I went to happened to be very old fashioned and racist to the bone. These people tried to stop me from college. I'd see so much around me and I couldn't just sit back . . . .

--Definitely. Better. From my last year I really got it together because I wanted to go to school. From E's to A's.

--Yes, my grades changed as well. This was because I was more enthusiastic about school so I was willing to put more time into it. I thought I was going to UMass.

15) Attendance change. The fifteenth question examined whether the Upward Bound experience had any impact on subjects' attendance in high school. The question and statement addressing this issue are as follows:

Interview: As a result of your Upward Bound experience, did your attendance in school change at all?
Questionnaire: Because of Upward Bound I attended school more frequently.

The questionnaire responses show that eight subjects (75%) reported that Upward Bound had changed their attendance patterns (four marked 'strongly agree' (SA), four marked 'agree' (A)); one was 'undecided' (U), and three reported that Upward Bound had not changed their attendance patterns

in schools (one marked 'disagree' (D); two marked 'strongly disagree; (SD)).

All of the subjects' interview responses were in accord with their questionnaire selections. The one subject who marked 'undecided' on the questionnaire stated in the interview, "No, cause I always did go to school."

The three subjects who disagreed that Upward Bound affected their attendance said the following:

> --No, because I thought I knew too much and I knew what they were talking about a lot of the time. So I got bored. But it didn't affect my grades that much. And there were racial issues going on all the time--and how can you deal with those things with such and such happening.
>
> --Yeah, I didn't go to school as much because I didn't think I had to go to school unless there was something I knew I had to do that day. You know. I went in when I needed to and left.
>
> --Yeah, I still took off once in a while though . . .

Some of the responses of the eight subjects whose interview and questionnaire responses agreed that Upward Bound had affected their school absences said the following:

> --Very drastically!
>
> --Well, the only reason why I kept going to school, well after I started to go to Upward Bound, I said, "Wow! There is a way for me to go to school!" And that gave me hope and determination and strength. But I still was very bored . . . . After Upward Bound I had a sense of purpose. I wanted to go. There was something for me to look forward to. There was a hope that I could go on further. OK, I went. I had to get a diploma be-

cause I knew that Upward Bound would help me get into college.

--. . . I didn't want what they had to offer after what I saw was happening. I tell you, I worked harder to change the curriculum in the high school, I spent more time trying to change the curriculum than in class. I would go down to the teachers' room and rap with the teachers about it, see what they thought, and it turned out a lot of them felt the same way I did. They were against the administration too. I would stay down there rapping and tell them it was my study period but actually I had algebra or something like that.

--Yeah, I was going to more classes. Yeah, I used to skip a lot. I used to skip at least one class a day, at least. Sometimes I'd go to two classes all week. Well, I started going to more classes . . .

--I was absent 44 times between the early part of my junior year and freshman year, and I was absent three or four times my senior year.

--Yes, it did. I went all the time, before I hadn't. I guess it did have something to do with the Bound in a way. Because I really wanted to get my diploma so I could get into college.

16) Curriculum change. This question examined whether the Upward Bound program students' curriculum changed from business or general tracks to a college preparatory track. The question and statement addressing this issue read:

Interview: From your Upward Bound experience did your curriculum change at all? How so?
Questionnaire: Because of Upward Bound my curriculum in high school changed.

In the questionnaire responses five subjects (41.7%) indicated that because of Upward Bound their academic curriculum did change: three marked 'strongly agree' (SA) and two

marked 'agree' (A). Four subjects indicated that their school curriculums did not change as a result of Upward Bound: one marked 'disagree' (D) and three marked 'strongly disagree' (SD). The other three subjects marked 'undecided'.

The three subjects who marked 'undecided' on the questionnaire were all in unique situations which they explained in the interview. One subject had been enrolled in college preparatory courses all along and had no curriculum change. She responded, "No, same college prep." The other two subjects were in a school system where guidance counselors placed them in business or general courses. They both explained their high school predicament in the interview when asked about curriculum changes. "Not really. I had college courses. I ended up getting a clerical diploma which was another form of racism. We had these terrible counselors who would mislead all third world people into taking all these irrelevant courses and by your senior year you'd think you're getting a college diploma. Then I was short of English." The second subject said, "I started taking business courses but it wasn't because I wanted to, it was because one of the counselors told me I couldn't take English so I didn't get a CP diploma which made me mad, but I knew if I wanted to go to college I could still go because Upward Bound told me that."

Of the four students who stated on the questionnaire that they had no curriculum change, one contradicted herself in the interview, saying, "It changed the last year I was

there. I had an open curriculum. I couldn't do it myself because they wouldn't let me and thought I was a bad student, blah, blah, blah, underground rebel. And so I had to talk to the teachers and ask them and the other students and they wouldn't have anything to do with me." So this subject did have a different curriculum which she herself defined.

The other three subjects who did not signify curriculum change in both the questionnaire and interview were all in unique academic situations. One had previously quit school and returned to night school to study for the high school equivalency test, a second left public school and enrolled in an alternative school, and a third moved around so much and was in so many schools that she experienced only short-term curriculum changes.

Of the five subjects who ascertained they had curriculum changes on the questionnaire, two disclosed contrary information in the interview. One subject said, "No, I was always in CP courses." The second subjects also revealed, "No, I was always in college courses."

Statements by subjects who agreed on the questionnaire and the interview that their curricula had changed were:

> --Yeah, I was back and froth from business to general courses. After I was in Upward Bound I chose a college curriculum and stuck with it. They didn't encourage blacks to go into college prep.
>
> --My senior year I wasn't going to take college prep courses at all but when I got into Upward Bound I changed back to CP. So a big difference.

Significance of the Future

17) Perspective on future. The seventeenth question examines whether the subjects saw their futures any differently as a result of their participation in the Upward Bound program. The question and statement addressing this issue are listed below:

> Interview: As a result of your Upward Bound experience did you see your future the same or different as before? If you did see it differently why do you think this was so?
> Questionnaire: Upward Bound helped me to see my future clearer and in a more positive way.

The questionnaire responses show that nine subjects (75%) agree that Upward Bound did help them to see their futures more distinctly: three 'strongly agreed' (SA) and six 'agreed' (A). The remaining three subjects marked 'undecided' (U) on the questionnaire as to whether the program helped them see their futures more clearly and more positively.

All three subjects who chose 'undecided' on the questionnaire stated in the interview that Upward Bound did have an influence on their perspective of the future. They said the following:

> --I saw it differently. I thought I was finally going into college and getting a four year education. At that time I wanted to go into law school. I was really looking forward to it, but my last summer there, after I got out it just all changed again . . .
>
> --I saw it different because I really think that for people to get into college . . . . A lot of people say it's not but it really is hard be-

> cause they only take certain people and if you have to go and sometimes even if you have the money you have a problem going through all the paperwork and Upward Bound can do that for you in a way. They really did that for me, I never really thought I was going to college. Even if my parents can afford to send me to college I never think about it.
>
> --Different. If I hadn't been in the Bound I would have been in the regular rut that everyone else does. I wouldn't have gone to college, the whole business of getting married, having kids.

Only one subject who indicated on the questionnaire that her perspective of the future changed as a result of the Upward Bound revealed in the interview that she wasn't sure if there was a change. She stated, "I can't say because I never have actually planned out my future or thought about it. You know."

The other eight subjects' interview responses substantiated their questionnaire selections that Upward Bound had an impact on their vision of the future. Some of their statements were as follows:

> --Different. I saw how I could get a college education and you know, get a better job than I would have gotten just with a high school diploma and into a field I wanted to get into instead of just any job that came along.
>
> --It was just that I wanted to look at myself so much that I had the courage to do something about wanting to be something.
>
> --A lot different. Because I didn't think I'd make it in college but I thought of maybe working on a job for a long time. I always wanted to be successful at whatever I did. But in my second summer of Upward Bound I really decided to go to college. It even looked like I could pass and before I didn't think I could get through.

--I saw my future a little bit clearer. I saw my future as something I could get to. Before I wanted to go to college but I didn't know how. It was something like I was trying to reach up before but there was no way. I didn't even see a ladder, or a helping hand, or nothing. It was just like hope. But Upward Bound was something solid that I could say "Wow". They could help me out. I could do it.

--Oh, yeah, definitely. I had a change to go to school.

--Different. For one thing how many people. Because down there I used to be here just by myself every day where as down there they teach you how to be a community with other people to talk and other things, a lot of things.

18) Influence on present situation. The eighteenth question examines whether subjects felt that the Upward Bound program had influenced their current situation. The questions and statement addressing this issue read:

Interview: Where do you think you might be now without having gone through Upward Bound?
Interview: Has Upward Bound had any influence on where you are now? How so?
Questionnaire: I'd probably be doing what I am now without Upward Bound.

The questionnaire responses show that seven subjects (58.3%) indicated Upward Bound influenced what they are presently doing: six marked 'strongly disagree' (SD) and one marked 'disagree' (D). Two subjects indicated that Upward Bound had not influenced their current situation: one marked 'agree' (A) and one marked 'strongly agree (SA). The other three subjects were undecided whether the program had any bearing on their present circumstances.

Only one of the three subjects who marked 'undecided' on the questionnaire responded differently in the interview. He revealed that he would have been in different circumstances without the experience of the program. He said, "I would think I would be a little bit less what I am now because down there they teach me a lot of things, they teach me a lot of English too. Give me a lot of help with my language. Still within myself and alone."

One of the two subjects who responded in the questionnaire that his situation would be the same with or without Upward Bound gave inconsistent information in the interview. He stated, "I don't have the faintest idea. I don't know. I probably wouldn't even be here. I'd be out of this house working a sweatshop or something. That's for sure."

The second subject who reported on the questionnaire that her situation would be the same regardless of Upward Bound confirmed this in the interview. She simply said, "Same place."

The seven subjects who reported on the questionnaire that their present situation was affected by Upward Bound confirmed this in the interview. Some of the responses are as follows:

> --I really don't have any idea. I'd probably have a job. The first job that I was offered I would have took. That would be terrible.
>
> --Yeah, I'm a person, you know? I'm my own person. Upward Bound provided the incentive for me

to be my own person. I talk about that all the time . . . I just reflect on it and think, yeah, if not for Upward Bound I wouldn't be here.

--As a person it has. In relation to the world. I got to learn just different people, and everybody's got their thing, you know? And I'm gonna wish them luck and if I could help them work at it. That's what you gotta do, you gotta learn anything you want to do . . . . Maybe a lot more ignorant of life, people.

--I'd probably be married, have a couple of kids, be out on the street very religious.

--Yeah, I think so. Everything goes back to then, to those days. I'm more open, my motivation is much greater, and I learned from the program about determination. Upward Bound made me determined! I don't know where I'd be without the Bound. I don't like to think about it. Probably on skid row in Northampton.

General

19) Value and remember most from Upward Bound experience. This question examines what subjects felt were the most valuable and memorable experiences in the Upward Bound program. The questions addressing this issue are listed below:

Interview: Do you feel anything stands out as vivid about the Upward Bound experience that is still with you now?
Questionnaire: What I still remember from my Upward Bound days is . . .
Questionnaire: What I value most from my Upward Bound experience is . . .

All the subjects responded in one way or another that they had grown as individuals as a result of the Upward Bound program. Some of their responses are as follows:

--Learning to deal with people and not just say to myself, "Well then, fuck them." If I had a problem with someone I would talk to them . . .

--. . . and I had opened up and let others take advantage of my knowledge. I remember walking away from my first summer knowing I was BAAD and BEAUTIFUL!

--Getting my head together a bit.

--I got along with the people in the program. I also remember how hard it was for me because I was shy, but I had to learn to speak up.

--I remember the odd things we did. Because I was used to things being a bit formal and the Bound taught me how to hang out.

--When I first came to Upward Bound I was very unhappy because my family moved from Florida and I didn't get along that well in trying to adjust to _____. Upward Bound gave me the strength and determination to keep going.

--Knowing I can be someone in this world. I learned the values of success and disappointment and how to cope with them.

--The maturity it helped me to achieve.

--That it help to see that everybody should try to do their best in school if they want to be better off in this society.

--Enjoying the people I met--sharing and growing within myself . . . being made aware of the social structure and the ways it affects 'lower class' individuals--especially black people . . . . Sharing our experiences with each other.

--The way I learned how to deal with people . . . having people talk to me and being able to be with other people and being close to them . . .

In conjunction with self growth, all the subjects reported that they had grown interpersonally. This varied from increased racial understanding and awareness to opening up and

sharing with other people for the first time. Some of the responses were as follows:

> --It was pretty lonely but the rest of the time I spent there I opened up to a lot of people and made lasting friendships which I hope I will never lose. Also I think the people and the staff were the best people I've ever met.
>
> --Meeting a lot of far out people.
>
> --Knowing the people. Getting along with the people. I know if I had been any other place with the same I probably wouldn't have gotten along with them as well as I did.
>
> --I met new people and the atmosphere was flexible and I enjoyed myself.
>
> --I learned a lot from it. Things about people, things about school, different ways to look at it instead of looking with one attitude like that's the way it is cause that's the way I feel and try to understand that there's other ways.
>
> --The things that I remember best is the people (staff) and all the other people in the program. I met a lot of people and they still my friends . . . I always will remember everybody from the program and I hope the program continue to help other people.
>
> --My good time I past around my friends . . . opinions from my friends.
>
> --Meeting new and lasting friends. Enjoying the people I met--sharing and growing . . . . Sharing our experiences with each other.
>
> --The way I learned how to deal with people, the fine friends I made . . . having people to talk to me and being able to be with other people . . . being with people I love, they're their own people, they help people.

All the subjects also spoke about their feelings towards the Upward Bound program itself--the help they received, the

community atmosphere, the struggles they underwent and the staff. Some said the following:

--I got rid of a lot of prejudice.

--The warm atmosphere and the solidarity among Upward Bound students is what I remember most about Upward Bound. I remember a sort of family closeness among us and a willingness to help each other discover himself.

--It was great. I really liked Upward Bound except for the last year. Everything shattered then. I got so bummed out about it. My own personal problems on top of Upward Bound problems, I just got so upset about that I said, "I just gotta get outta here." You know? It just gets me so upset remembering all that.

--I remember most how home like the program was for me . . . I remember how much I missed the program when I went home on weekends and went back to school in the fall. I remembered how much I couldn't wait until I could be a member of the staff.

--I can remember we'd all be sitting in the lounges and all of a sudden we'd be having a talent show in front of us . . . something going on all the time.

--_____. He is a very inspiring person. I remember him for his enthusiasm about a person's ability. He never doubted your capabilities. He just gave encouragement at the right time. I remember _____, too. She was really nice person who tried to make things better. I'll never forget the time when the Bound had a party, and folks was laughing cause I couldn't dance and she took me right into the bathroom and tried to teach me the dance people was doing. That was nice.

--I just found a certain type of happiness, a certain type of thing in Upward Bound that I don't think I've ever found. It's the kind of experience that I think that everyone should get into.

--The 'family-like' feeling during the summer here at UMass . . . I appreciated being part of the Upward Bound program . . . I think the whole experi-

ence is just inside of me, a part of it. Just like the summer feeling of a whole family, like we were thought to be of one family. Like you see someone from the Bound on campus and you still talk to each other. It's really nice. You're still friends.

--And the program had given the chance to everybody in need, the program is equally balance, all my friends, some of them just got out of college and are very happy and feel the same way.

--Learning about black people . . . like the last year there started to be racial overtones, a lot more than when we first got in. And that bothers me . . . . It seems like another time. I look back and say, "Oh, my God!" I've changed so much and I can really see the changes.

--My last year when I took best advantage of the many learning opportunities offered by Upward Bound. I got into the swing and thrill of what it means to learn things.

Several students mentioned how their education--both in the past high school context in Upward Bound summers, and as college students--was affected. Some of their responses are as follows:

--The knowledge I received during my two summers with Upward Bound is most rewarding. I remember my attitude became more positive about my future . . . I think I learned a little about everything and I developed skills relating to school that are still very beneficial now that I've discontinued my education at UMass.

--Getting a chance to go to college.

--I remember the hard time I had in English class, but how it helped me when I returned to school in the fall . . . . For the first time I could sit in a class without feeling that the teacher would rather I wasn't there . . . . I also value the experience of college life before I had to attend college. You can talk to the teachers after class without being upset what his grade or

her grade is gonna be. And then the fact that we were sitting on the floor enjoying the class. I just liked it because I could get into the classes, you know and understand where the teacher was coming from because I didn't only see him in class but outside too. I really like the classes and I'm glad I had the experience . . . I know teachers have problems outside the classroom from Upward Bound so I can say now, well maybe he had a bad day or something like that.

--My course in Afro-American history. Very interesting! It was my favorite part of it. I liked it because it was so much different than anything else I had ever taken before.

--Help me to get through school, so I'm very glad to I was in the program. The Upward Bound program help me with the problems I had in school, tutor me.

--I got into carpentry (which I'm still into).

In conclusion the interview and questionnaire responses showed all five areas under investigation affected Upward Bound students' lives. All of the subjects reported that Upward Bound had a major impact on their personal development, helping them to understand themselves better, to gain a greater sense of self confidence, to accept responsibility for themselves and others, and to begin to choose and make positive decisions about their lives.

The subjects unanimously reported that Upward Bound had in some way influenced their family relationships. The results showed that some subjects' families related to the subjects differently, while some subjects better understood their families and related to the families differently, often acquiring new roles within the family unit.

Questionnaire and interview responses also demonstrated that all the subjects' abilities and capacities to make new friends were strengthened due to Upward Bound, while most subjects displayed a worthwhile change in activities with former friends.

Based on the results, subjects' academic lives were also unanimously affected by the Upward Bound program. There was a different emphasis on how subjects were affected ranging from an improvement in grades, a change for the better in attendance, a new profound understanding of their school systems leading to attempts to improve the system, an increased academic motivation, a transfer from general or business courses to college track courses, and the actualization of college as a future goal. The potential reality of college as a future aspiration helped the majority of subjects to gain a perspective on their futures in a clearer, more positive manner.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the impact of Upward Bound on students who graduated from the program. An interview and questionnaire focused on five major areas investigated in the study: Self, Family, Friends, Academics and School, and the Significance of the Future. The twelve subjects were chosen from the Upward Bound graduating class of 1972 based upon their willingness to participate in the study, the geographical availability of the subject, and the ability of the author to locate the subject.

Every subject disclosed Upward Bound had a major impact in their lives in at least four of the five areas of concentration. A formidable majority of the subjects reported that Upward Bound had a strong impact on their self perceptions, thoughts, and feelings; their relationships with their families; their skills and capacities to make new friends; their grades, attitudes, and attendance in school; and their ability to see the future clearer. A large, but not overwhelming number of subjects revealed that because of Upward Bound their activities with friends changed and their high school curriculum changed. Hence this study clearly demonstrates that Upward Bound played a significant role in helping develop the subjects' lives in the five areas under investiga-

tion.

The chapter will begin summarizing the results and discussing the impact of Upward Bound on the subjects in each of the five areas under investigation. Chapter V will then discuss the inconsistencies of the questionnaire and interview responses, followed by an examination of the findings of other areas of influence on the subjects' including the development of a political awareness, a spirit of synergistic behavior, and an appreciation and respect for other people and cultures.

The chapter will continue with an examination of the subjects' present situations followed by a discussion considering the program's influence on friends of students, non-Upward Bound students, Upward Bound families, community agencies, and local, state, and federal politicians.

Chapter V will conclude with recommendations for future Upward Bound programs and future research.

Upward Bound Impact on Upward Bound Students

Self

An overwhelming majority of the subjects reported that the Upward Bound program had a strong positive impact on their perceptions, thoughts, and feelings about themselves. The results showed most individuals' awareness increased, self perception and self image changed in a positive manner, confidence to make decisions grew, and a sense of personal re-

sponsibility was enhanced.

It is important to note at this time that because of the interconrection of the five areas of investigation, subjects oftentimes logically related one area to another when answering questions in the interview. For example, many subjects interrelated personal and family growth, personal and academic growth, academics and the future, etc. Therefore the reader should keep in mind that the interview was open-ended, additional information was encouraged by the interviewer, and oftentimes categorical responses overlapped into other related areas in the study.

Individuals naturally experienced the Upward Bound program in different ways. Each subject gained different things from the program, depending on his/her needs and the investment they had in the program. But all the subjects did leave the program with something that was important to their development and understanding of themselves. A major theme in the subjects' experiences was the acquisiton of a deeper overall awareness of oneself. Upward Bound encouraged students to investigate themselves closely as people--where have they been, where are they now, and where are they going. Students reported that Upward Bound did facilitate an intense introspective process.

> It just made me look more at myself and see the good points and the bad points and to develop myself into getting the bad points into good points.

Due to Upward Bound one subject loosened up as a person, feeling more confident and self-assured that she was valuable and had something to give the world.

> It changed because I was a very stiff type of person . . . . I don't know, I just felt down and out in Upward Bound, you know, just gave me the feeling that I was somebody, made me feel that I'm unique like I'm an individual, and it made me feel as though that what I have to say, it may not be equal to what somebody else has said, but I said it and I'm the only person that has said it.

Another subject began to feel stronger and more honest with herself. She stated,

> I'm the baddest person on earth. The program helped me feel very secure within myself. I got over my shyness that year too. As a person I became more open and kinda bold. I'm not afraid to deal with issues anymore, like I used to be.

The response of a different subject was,

> I looked at things differently from being in Upward Bound like before if something happened I'd take it at face value and not look at it deeply . . .

Another subject stated,

> It made me aware I had to look deeper. . . .

For some students the process of getting to know themselves better was a painful process. One student who was particularly introverted when she first entered the program said,

> I never thought about being quiet or being shy or anything like that. I guess when I went to Upward Bound I was made to realize because when other people spoke out and when I wanted to say something I couldn't say anything because I was too shy, too quiet to say anything . . . and others would be talking and I would want to get my opinion in. Things like that made me realize I was quiet.

A second student discovered how sheltered her life had been.

> I found out a lot of things about me. About how immature I was and how I couldn't cope with the situation. I was so used to being led and in Upward Bound you're on your own more or less . . . . Upward Bound, it sort of awakens you . . . it gave me a sense of independence.

Upward Bound graduates also reported that they found a new sense of self confidence within themselves. Some examples of this are as follows:

> I wanted to do a lot of things, right, but I was afraid in the back of my mind that I can't do it. But after a couple in Upward Bound told me, well, you know, you can do it if you want, you can succeed if you want, I sort of got convinced . . . .

Or,

> I wasn't really confident at making decisions at all before and I was sort of back and forth.

And,

> Like talking to people in Upward Bound, you know, I could get confidence.

One subject radically changed stating,

> My mother would tell you I wouldn't even go to the store by myself, I wouldn't even ride a bus downtown, and as far as picking out presents and stuff like that I wouldn't even do that. It was my opinion that nobody would like them but I look at it this way. I'm buying the present and I think I make pretty good judgments . . .

Or,

> I became more secure and began trusting my own opinions more. I thought I was a BAAAADDDD person so obviously I began respecting my own opinions as well . . .

And,

> I used to think I wasn't good enough for people, and things like that so I wouldn't say too much and I was really clammed up. Hell, I'm as good as the next person though.

Upward Bound students achieved this broader conception for a number of reasons. One was that the program was structured to provide support. The teachers, summer counselors, and full time counselors were constantly supportive of the students during the summer and during the follow-up the full time staff counseled the students in weekly one-to-one counselor meetings. In addition to these individual meetings, group meetings were held in the communities on a weekly basis so students could share their new feelings of self worth and share the problems of readjusting to their homes and to public school. The group meetings also took on the form of a core support group where students could not only talk about

their frustrations, problems, and growth, but also mobilize to try to change existent situations within the public school.

A second reason was due to the alternative summer academic environment. The Upward Bound population consisted of 'high-risk' students who entered the program with a combination of poor grades, poor attendance records, poor academic attitudes, and minimal academic skills. For many there was no point to high school because there was no hope for college. Because of poor grades and the lack of motivation, Upward Bound students often had suspension or expulsion records, high truancy rates and were regarded as low achievers in public school. The summer provided an alternative school setting where classes were small and informal and the material was relative to the students' lives. Since teachers lived side by side with the students, students gradually began to realize the commitment and care teachers had for them. Consequently, youngsters began to take an interest in themselves as students, and began to see that they did have the ability to do good academic work.

A third reason why students began to better understand themselves and gain a sense of self confidence evolved through the numerous meetings that transpired during the summer program which necessitated student involvement and participation. Individual meetings with staff members, group meetings with their corridors, student government meetings, community area

meetings, and full program meetings were weekly occurrences. All of these meetings basically focused on personal and social growth. Discussions were constantly held causing students to question and examine themselves and their programs. Thus an evaluation was taking place of oneself and the Upward Bound program simultaneously, creating a more comprehensive understanding of self.

These meetings did not stop with the dialogues because in order for them to be truly meaningful for the students, the discussions had to lead to positive action within the program. Consequently a fourth reason was caused by the interpersonal exchanges which were listened to closely by the staff and often resulted in structural changes in the program. Therefore the students felt they did have an impact in the constitution of the program, and had a chance (in most cases for the first time) to experience their power as individuals who could reshape their lives and their environment.

A fifth reason which helped students expand as people related to the fact that Upward Bound participants cultivated new interests through the program. One person found her interests broadened:

> My interested were awakened, I read on subjects . . . I became aware of my whole thinking process.

She gravitated towards issues facing poor people and women.

> I became more aware of myself as a woman and more aware of the situation of poor people . . . . I grew.

Another student began to feel the evolution of her cultural identity as a black woman.

> New things opened up to me. Classes that they had in the program were good. There was one dealing with black issues which helped open up and evolve a whole new part of me. I really like that part of me, too.

Built into the program was an attempt to stimulate individuals to pursue their own interests. A variety of extracurricular activities, seminars and courses were available for students to choose from as well as a wide range of cultural activities. Independent study courses were open to students who wanted to pursue an individualized topic of interest. Consequently the Upward Bound student was exposed to a large number of cultural and academic areas that could be potentially interesting, and supported in any endeavor to further investigate those interests.

Upward Bound also influenced the majority of students in becoming more responsible people who were capable of deciding things for themselves. Some examples of this included:

> Whether you did or not was up to you. Sometimes I made good decisions. There was nobody to say go to bed, you know, so I'd just stay up. There was nobody to say you're not supposed to swear . . . you know . . . so I just swore. It was this thing where nobody said you have to wear a bra and this and that and this and that, you wear what you want to wear.

So in some things I did pretty good and made the decisions, then in other things, wow, it was something else . . .

Or,

. . . Responsibilities for myself, they helped me form . . . like they set up the rules and each year as we went along the rules got stricter . . . . You know there was an honor system so the responsibility was placed upon you and you could do what you wanted.

One student said:

Like the summer you just get away from home and being up there with students and you're sort of on your own, you know, without parental supervision and you had to make decisions on your own.

Or,

I matured a lot, you know, because I was really kind of like on my own. I didn't have any parents around to tell me what to do and what time to come in, I just naturally grew up a lot the first year I was there.

Or,

I became a lot more responsible for myself. I stopped being responsible for the other people that don't take responsibility for themselves, you know, they tread right on you!

Or,

I felt responsible for myself because I gained the understanding that no one cares unless I do first.

> First I had to become responsible for myself, and then I could be responsible for other people . . .

A major goal of the program was for students to assume responsibility and accountability for their actions and their lives. The program attempted to achieve this goal in several ways. One way was to structure a community where students and staff were equally responsible to make the program a success. Staff members acted as role models, yet abided by the same rules that were established for the entire community. For example, when there was no drinking in the program because of both political and personal reasons, the entire Upward Bound population obeyed the rule.

With the no alcohol rules and other policies, students were all held accountable for their own as well as each others' actions. This created an environment where everyone was involved, bypassing the traditional 'grown-up govern adolescent' model. Again the obvious example would include alcohol--before the summer program all the students agreed not to use alcohol or drugs for the duration of the summer six-week program. They also agreed that if they did use either they would consider themselves immediately suspended from the program and return home. But the contract did not stop here. It continued that anyone who was in the presence of anyone else using drugs or alcohol had the responsibility to report that person. The explanation for this was simple: the program was composed of poor youth from all over Western Massa-

chusetts and not wanted in the Amherst community making it politically unsound to be caught in an illegal act and jeopardize the program. In addition neither drugs nor alcohol was considered a healthy activity by the staff, as students could well see in their home communities.

Students also assumed responsibility by participating in a student government that was real. The student governing body had power and learned how to constructively wield that power. Each student was also encouraged to provide feedback to the government and the program. It was unheard of to be bored in a classroom for instance, because boredom should be challenged and transformed into something that has meaning. So students were expected to take control of their lives and change things in a way that became meaningful for themselves and the community.

It is apparent that the program regarded students as competent young adults, capable of assuming responsibility. They experienced a trusting attitude by the staff until they violated that trust at which point they were treated as young adults who had broken a contract. As long as there was no violation of that implicit trust, students had a free reign to act like mature individuals. Subsequently the expectations of the staff came true, creating a community of mature young adults who took responsibility for themselves and their actions.

The results continually point out that Upward Bound

played a large part in influencing students' ability to accept, understand, and relate to other people. Some examples of this include:

> I guess I got a little bit more open minded . . . I just learned to look at a person for a person, you know.

Or,

> Most of the time I used to think about myself but down there I thought about other people. Most of the people was together. Everybody talking about his problems. I think it was good down there . . . changed a lot about myself.

One person became able to deal with teachers. She said,

> To get along with other people better . . . I think that's one of the main things. Like you see people, you understand their problems, they understand yours, kind of talk to 'em . . . not on levels like you do in school. Like you know that's the professor and sometimes you're just scared to talk to the professor. And it's kind of different, a different experience. Upward Bound helped me to deal with that . . . like a person.

Or,

> You get to know yourself 'cause you're meeting people just like you. They just seem to be in the same situations, you can identify with the people so you can learn from them and therefore evaluate your own mind and the experience and what you would have done in their spot.

Or,

> Everyone has to cooperate with each other and make decisions. You do have a responsibility to be cool,

> you know . . . I'm not saying to be totally submissive, hey . . .

The most obvious reason why students grew in how they saw and related to other people was based on the fact that Upward Bound is a program that involves people. New people enter every student's life--both staff and peers. Part of the program is residential, where new roommates are discovered, corridor groups are formed, and people from new and diverse cultural backgrounds are met. The six week summer program is an intense experience, causing many students to regard it as the most important occurrence in their lives. The close community setting away from home, combined with individuals from different cultural backgrounds, life styles, and with different values provides a stimulating environment where social relations become inevitable as an integral aspect of the growth process.

The results showed that most of the subjects not only experienced themselves as changing and growing, but took their own individual action and steps in a direction that correlated with their inner growth. One student went back to high school.

> After going there I finally decided I wanted to go back to school . . .

One student quit using drugs.

> . . . I quit drugs . . . I just realized there was another way . . . .

Two students decided they could succeed in college.

> Well college . . . I didn't think I could make it . . . and I had to make the decision so I made it . . .

and

> I wasn't really planning to go to college like my senior year in high school I was taking business courses and ready to just take a job, but ummm, Tony (Upward Bould counselor) came along and talked to me and convinced me that I could go to college and I would get financial aid and so I ended up here.

One student got married,

> I never think about I want to get married, I want to still study. I came up here and make the decision to get married.

One student took the time he needed to sort his life out,

> Well my last year I decided I couldn't take some of it so I decided I was definitely going to leave there for a week and I came back. Then I started doing a little bit more of my homework.

One straight 'F' student began doing his high school work,

> Getting my shit together completely, going to school, getting everything together. Homework and shit like that and getting everything down pat.

In summary, all the subjects indicated that they, themselves, were influenced by the Upward Bound program, despite minor contradictions by predominantly two subjects (See Inconsistency Discussion). All the subjects reported that Upward

Bound had a major impact on their personal development. Some subjects reported they gained a more profound awareness of themselves which often times transformed into an increased self confidence and acceptance of responsibility. Subjects also found themselves interested in new areas ranging from Blackness, to womanhood, to social service aspirations. Along these transitions came an ability and confidence to act, and make decisions that benefitted their lives.

To facilitate these changes the program structured a basic summer residential program and a school year follow-up program, therefore having the consistency of an intensive full year program. In the summer numerous meetings occurred focusing on social and personal growth. These meetings became meaningful for students because they were the backbone for change within the program--the feedback that came out of meetings actually created changes within the program so students saw community growth.

During the summer an alternative academic environment provided students with basic English and math skills which in turn furnished students with the motivation and self esteem to achieve average and above average grades in public school. The summer cultivated individual interests as well. Seminars, courses, and extra-curricular activities were available for students. In addition cultural events were offered to build a pride in one's own culture and a respect for other's cultures.

During the school year area meetings were held weekly in the communities. These meetings served as support groups with other students. One-to-one meetings were also held between students and the Upward Bound counselors so that a counseling relationship was in effect year round.

Family

A large majority of the subjects reported that the Upward Bound program influenced relationships with their families, helped them better understand and appreciate their families, and changed how their families perceived them. In fact, all the subjects except one (whose family lived in Latin America) disclosed that Upward Bound had affected some aspect of their family relationships.

One subject had a unique situation. She lived with several different families through foster home placements. Because of this she responded to some questions about her family life uncertainly, trying to assimilate the various home environments into one answer, saying things such as,

> Well, different places didn't like Upward Bound because they thought it would corrupt me . . . and I shouldn't be there . . .. They always thought I'd be up to something.

Consequently the subjects' family who resided in Latin America and the subject who moved from home to home must be regarded in the context of their special situations. Out of a sampling of twelve, when two subjects have home situations

that warrant special attention due to unstable family environments, it may be assumed that this is not out of the ordinary for the Upward Bound population. The author surmises that some Upward Bound students live in very different and sometimes difficult home situations as compared to the 'average' high school student.

The impact of the program on the students and their families basically followed three main issues. The first theme involved subjects experiencing their families seeing them differently. Specifically families being proud of their children and seeing them mature for the first time. Examples of this include:

> . . . Well before I was just going to get a job and my family accepted that. Like me going to college and like even now my parents want to see my brothers and sisters go to college like me. Like it has pushed education in the family. It's affected the family in that way.

Or,

> . . . My mother was kind of proud of me.

Or,

> . . . I imagine it did . . . I just took it for granted that it did change how they felt towards me. For one thing pride, no one in my family, you know, made it through anything like that.

One family was previously ashamed of their child.

> They think I'm doing something, they think I'm capable of doing things. Before they were ashamed to admit that.

Or,

> They thought I had potential, and that is something that they never thought before.

Or,

> . . . When I was in Upward Bound I'd speak what I feel . . . if I feel strongly about a subject . . . well when they got word of about how I always voiced my mind, I was like a big mouth of the program, they began to feel as though I had a little worth to me because I've never been the type of person that's made all A's in school, I never even made all B's, I've never even made the honor roll except for the sixth grade . . . but Upward Bound showed them that maybe I had other talents, I mean it wasn't necessary to bring home all A's but I did have something I could offer and they became aware of that . And I think they were proud of me.

Or,

> Oh, yeah. They think it's a definite improvement. Well, like, now I have a future. Before I was looking at the future--it comes as it comes. I didn't have any really set goal. And I sort of stamped out whatever I was and I came back down to reality. They seen it right and think I benefitted from it a lot.

Or simply,

> She felt proud of me.

Reactions about sons' and daughters' growth process was not always favorable. One subject reported,

> My mother always said Upward Bound changed me and made me more flighty and uppidity and all that. But then I came up here and got into the women's movement. They she thought I'd really gone crazy.

This particular subject's parents also were adverse to the goals of the program. They did not want to see her continue in college, feeling that higher education was no place for a

woman. This was not uncommon. Many parents did not understand their child's growth, had never been to college themselves, nor could envision their child in an institution as large and ominous as UMass.

A second recurring theme in the data showed Upward Bound students frequently missing their families and/or their families missing them. Most of the subjects had never been away from home before for an extended period of time and were somewhat surprised at the intensity of the emotional link to their homes.

> Well, it's personal. When I was first away from them the first year, like I never really had been away from home. I was really lonely then cause I never really thought over well how much do I love this person or that person, you know, in your family, and it gets you thinking, you know, that you really do love them and you appreciate seeing them.

And,

> . . . One thing did happen though. I did become aware of how they felt about me. I wasn't right in my room, they couldn't always put the finger on me when . . . so it showed how intensive their love for me was or their interest in me.

And,

> Yes, it did. Because I was away in the program for the summer so for the first time I really missed them. I got the feeling of missing somebody really deep. But I don't think my understanding really changed though.

A third recurring theme in the data showed subjects con-

tinually redefining their positions in the family unit and sometimes went as far as adopting a new role in the family. Six subjects found themselves treated more independently and acting more responsibly as a result of their Upward Bound experience. They said,

> . . . They gave me more freedom. They knew I could handle it and wouldn't get into any trouble. So it change the way he treated me.

And,

> Just a little bit. Cause in a way I changed . . . They would notice the change and, you know, just little actions . . . so they couldn't understand how come I made that change but then finally they compromised . . .

And,

> It kind of changed my values in a way cause my family had very old fashioned values and I had them too. And I guess it kind of changed those values in a way. Like you know, old fashioned values like people shouldn't go out until 2:00 in the morning or stay up till that late . . . Yes, more independent. Cause I used to be very dependent. . . . In a way, relating to other people and doing those things Upward Bound helped me to kind of be more independent.

And,

> I grew up a little bit more. I took on more responsibilities in the family, you know, when my mother went out I'd take care of the kids but I guess with a growing up experience you have to take on responsibilities. Like I said if my mother wanted me to go downtown or something I wouldn't do it but I guess after Upward Bound I would.

And,

> I can remember them saying that I acted more mature but then I didn't realize it. When I think back I certainly was.

And,

> He just thought I was more grown-up and able to cope with different situations.

The one subject who lived in several foster homes found herself redefining her position in various households, finally developing into her own person, contrary to what one influential family believed she should be.

> Like the ivy league education was the thing I should do. I should grow up and go to Wellesley. I should be a poo-poo and all this. And that changed . . . because Upward Bound didn't stress education for me anyway, it stressed how I felt, what I should do, if education was there, fine, if it wasn't fine. You know, developing me.

One subject found himself changing in his family unit by understanding his father's prejudices and taking on the role of attempting to educate his family about their racism.

> . . . Well, there's some prejudice in every household, I guess you know, but I understand where it comes from. They were probably raised just like I was. Like the way he raised me his father probably raised him that way. I can deal with that now.

College helped another subject redefine her role in her family. Through Upward Bound college became a possibility even though her family was opposed to her attending college.

> My mother . . . I used to play with my mother all the time, about the Bound. I guess she had my father's view that I really didn't need to go to college. They were both working in factories. My dad finished high school in the army and my mother quit in her senior year. My dad didn't believe that higher education for women should exist. If I had not gotten in the Bound I would have never gone.

This was not uncommon, for the large majority of Upward Bound parents had never conceived that their children (who were 'high risk' before entering the program) really might attend college.

The foundation of the Upward Bound program had built in constructs focusing on primarily transmitting to the student a perspective and understanding of his family, and secondarily helping the family unit become a healthier environment for all its members. A major mechanism in this evolution was the residential summer program. By virtue of the program being away from home, students were away from family problems and could see their predicament with more clarity and detachment. Two students clearly spoke to this point in the interview.

> Upward Bound helped me become more aware of the difficulties they go through. Before I would have gotten all upset and said it's just a stage they're going through instead of looking underneath and saying, "Well, maybe there are some problems!" I just gained a lot more perspective.

The second student said,

> Well, like right now, I'm my own person. And being at school the family situation is there but you don't get involved in it. And you're like an out-

> sider looking at the family now and you can pick different viewpoints about it.

Combined with the physical distance and detached attitude there was a constant support system within the Upward Bound summer program to examine the family situation. Upward Bound full year counselors periodically met with students and invariably talked about the home environment. Teachers discussed families in the classroom, and offered assignments and exercises such as family scenes to role play. In their home communities there was an unwritten taboo not to talk about personal problems, especially since it was assumed that no one else had such deep rooted home difficulties. In the Upward Bound setting, where everyone came from low income backgrounds and everyone had problems, these problems could be shared. No longer was the student alienated with his painful secrets, but instead he found many other individuals who had similar hardships.

To help students further gain a perspective of their own homes, teachers lived in the summer program with their families. They became healthy role models for students who came from broken or disrupted homes. Students began identifying with teachers' families, while before they had no conception of a healthy family unit. Therefore when students returned home they carried with them new ideas about family organizations and new ideas about how to relate within the family.

To help the family become a healthier body, entire fami-

lies were included in the program as much as possible. Families were kept abreast of their sons' and daughters' activities in all spheres of the program whether it was in relation to high grades or acting out. This involved them in the program and opened doors with the staff. Events like family day when the program invited all Upward Bound families to join for picnics and softball or dinner, and International Food Day when parents from different cultural backgrounds cooked their specialities and brought food for a diverse meal, instilled in parents a cultural pride and an opportunity to learn about and appreciate other cultures.

The staff began working with parents too, emphasizing that they could further their education, not only for themselves, but also to become positive role models for their aspiring child. High school equivalency programs were implemented and for a few of the parents (who had completed high school as long ago as 30 years) enrollment and financial aid into college were secured. This fostered a sense of price and self worth in parents, and minimized the communication gap between parents and students. Coupled with this, parents were given open invitations to attend Upward Bound summer classes.

Further education was a new concept to most of the families. It began to switch the tone of hopelessness in many of the families--parents thought about finishing high school or attending college and youth thought about entering college.

It provided a channel for inspiration--a way out. As parents watched their sons or daughters finally enter college or as they saw other Upward Bound parents' children enter college, they began to contemplate college for their other children. As one subject said,

> Even now my parents want to see my brothers and sisters go to college like me.

Staff worked with parents in monthly parent community meetings too. This helped maintain contact with the program and was a vehicle for motivating parents to become more involved in community affairs and take some control over their lives. In fact, parents did become involved with school boards, superintendents of schools, principals, local governments, and other community agencies.

To further help families counselors maintained contact by means of home visits. These visits were sometimes counseling visits and other times visits to stop by and just say hello. Home visitations were no longer motivated by student problems as they once had been. This resulted in the staff not posing a threat to the family as a substitute parent, but instead staff became family members, helping to change the patterns of interaction in a positive manner.

In conclusion all of the subjects indicated that the Upward Bound program influenced their family relationships. Some reported that their families perceived and treated them differently, others began to better understand and accept

their siblings and parents for what they were. Most of the subjects began to adopt new roles within the family unit as well. Other subjects found themselves missing their families much to their surprise.

The residential summer program also helped implement changes within the family unit. Here students were away from their home life and could see clearly and objectively some of the problems that existed with the help and support of Upward Bound counselors and teachers.

Families were included in the program as much as possible in two major ways. On one hand parents were kept informed about their child's progress and on the other hand parents were challenged and supported in their own growth endeavors such as furthering their education, participating in Upward Bound summer classes, planning and participating in family events, becoming more involved in community affairs, and working closely with the counselors in regards to their child and the program.

Friends

All the subjects unanimously reported that their skills and capacities to make new friends were enhanced, and they formed new friends as a result of the UpwardBound Program. The majority of subjects also reported that because of the Upward Bound experience their activities with new friends changed, and became more worthwhile than previous activities

with old companions.

Two of the subjects who reported that they formed new friendships through the Upward Bound Program said the following:

> I expanded my relationships with people I met in the Bound. I knew people all over the state.

And,

> Well, junior year I hung around by myself and senior year I started making new friends. And Upward Bound friends. It was rough, it really was getting along with the kids back home. I always looked forward to seeing another Upward Bound student.

One subject wasn't sure if her new friends were a result of Upward Bound though.

> I came out of shyness a little and then through the Bound and my senior year I met more people and was hanging around with different people. But I don't know whether that was really a reflection of the Bound.

Some of the majority of subjects who disclosed their activities became more meaningful stated,

> Different things because they were all still hitting up and I wasn't. And they began to look at me as an enemy in ways but not an enemy because they loved me. You know, but most of the conversation in the whole circle was getting dope and if you're no longer involved in that circle the most you can do is call up and say, "Hey, what's happening?"

And,

> Some the same, some different, because before I never expressed myself to them, I kept things kind of to myself. Then I began expressing my opinions to them and shared ideas.

And,

> . . . they didn't go there, it didn't change them. But I think they became more aware of what goes on around us because I always talk like that, you know, I've got all my friends reading the newspapers now. They used to never read the newspapers and I start talking about something like when we're having a beer and they'd say, "What, what's going on?" and you know, I'd say, "Don't ya read the papers?" Now I got them aware of the world and I think that's important, you know, you gotta know.

And,

> Well, I'd say doing things with friends, the places, you know. Upward Bound appeared in the summer with blacks and Puerto Ricans. Like the PRs, like they are different because it's a mostly white community and we started going places where there would be black kids and Puerto Rican kids. I had to convince my friends though. They were shocked at first. Before I think there was fear not knowing what they were like of knowing them. Now we like going to integrated places.

Thus it is evident that there were varieties of ways that Upward Bound students grew and different ways individuals expressed their growth with friends. One student began to be listened to and respected, another student led her friends to integrated settings, while another student educated his friends about current events.

Several ideas were structured into the program to facilitate a better operating community and subsequently closer

relationships among students. For example, the staff began the summer carefully matching roommates and corridor groupings with individual personalities and psychological growth in mind. Therefore an attempt was made to combine students who would complement each other such as a poor academic student with a good academic student, or a quiet, shy student with a popular student. This enhanced both individual and social growth, which in turn created closer and more meaningful relationships.

Another mechanism built into the program that fostered closer relationships was the counselors' support in helping students resolve interpersonal conflicts. A major emphasis in resolving problems centered around a respect for other individuals' values, attitudes, and life styles. This nurtured a depth with friends and acquaintances which helped form the nucleus of the Upward Bound family.

In a sense students were forced to become friends. There was a psychological pressure by the Amherst and University of Massachusetts communities on the students because they looked unfavorably at 120 low income delinquents, drug users, drug pushers, thieves, and trouble makers residing in 'their' community for the better part of the summer. The staff would periodically receive phone calls stating that a black person or a spanish person had stolen something and was that person an Upward Bound student. Upward Bound students perceived these attitudes and joined together in a sense of

solidarity which formed a bond of deep and close friendships.

This 'forced' sense of brotherhood, combined with a common set of community goals to 'get it together,' brought people closer together. Between the carefree enjoyable atmosphere of Upward Bound there was a sense of importance and urgency--a sense that this was the time to reconstruct one's life. Upward Bound was an environment where everyone willingly came based on a similarity of impoverished backgrounds. This commonality of histories fostered an atmosphere of trust and lowered the barriers that hindered people from sharing problems relevant to poverty back at home. "We're in it together" was a commonly heard phrase during the summer months, causing the formation of significant relationships with other students. The staff offered support to students in expressing and sharing their problems with each other, both during the summer months and school year.

The summer changed old patterns of behavior by structuring new activities and prohibiting old ones. For many of these youth drugs and/or alcohol had been commonplace in their lives. In Upward Bound both were banned. From this point there was only the option to develop new and exciting 'highs'. The great majority of students found original and creative outlets that before were not necessary to discover. Therefore their world of daily activities opened up to them, creating for many a more worthwhile and imaginative life with friends.

When speaking of old friendships, half of the subjects disclosed that Upward Bound did not affect their relationships with old friends, while the other half disclosed that Upward Bound did affect their relationships with old friends. There are several reasons which may have precipitated an equal number of different experiences with old friends.

First, subjects came from urban and rural environments. The number of students recruited from these areas was proportionate to the percentage of poverty in that area. So of course the urban areas like Springfield and Holyoke had the largest number of students as compared to more rural areas like Williamsburg or Adams. Examining the subjects who reported their relationships with old friends had not changed, one can see that only two of them came from urban areas in comparison to the subjects who reported their relationships with old friends had changed where all but one came from urban areas. The author surmises that the larger numbers of Upward Bound students from the urban areas offered more support to change, and additionally offered a wider variety of new friends with whom to develop closer relationships. Two urban students stated,

> I grew away from a kid on the other side of the Parkway. It just didn't seem important to give him a ring anymore.

And,

> I branched out with other friends. It was interesting because most of them were from the program and we've kept in touch for a long time.

Whereas the subjects who came from the more rural environments, where there were less Upward Bound students, stated that they returned home after the summer and continued where they had left off with their old friends.

It is further interesting to note that all of the subjects who signified changes in their relationships with old friends, underwent strong personal transformations themselves. For example, one student began to assume responsibility at home and began for the first time to socialize, two students made some decisions about school and began constructively challenging that environment, one student stopped using drugs and he left the 'street,' and one formally quiet and inhibited student became an active member of her community, joining the Mayor's Youth Commission and the School Committee. These individuals were all seen differently when they returned to their communities.

> They began to respect me back at home and in certain situations they recognized me as their spokesman. A lot of times they even asked me to be their spokesman.

Or,

> I got to understand them better because of the people I met up there were all different mixtures and everything. Usually I just hang out with white Anglo Americans and aah, so when I hear them say

> something you know, like what about that nigger or something like that I say you know, what do you want to be like that for? I really got to be like that . . .

Comparatively only one student whose relations with old friends didn't change underwent a strong personal change going from all E's to A's in his senior year.

In conclusion, it was not a specific goal of the program to facilitate the development of new friendships or close friendships. Instead, this was an offspring of the combined goals of self growth, family growth, improvement in high school and academic work, and a clear sense of future directions.

A combination of the exposure to other cultures, life styles, values, and attitudes, with a strong sense of community aimed at personal and social growth, provided students with a wide range of opportunities and support to form new and close friendships. The student coming from a rural or urban community (i.e., a community with a greater or fewer number of Upward Bound students), seemed to have some bearing on whether or not relationships with old friends were changed.

Academics and School

Subjects overwhelmingly reported that Upward Bound had an effect on their academic and school life. Most subjects reported that Upward Bound had a positive influence on their attitudes towards school, that there was an overall improve-

ment in their grades, and their school attendance changed for the better. Approximately one-half of the subjects revealed their high school curricula changed as a result of the program.

Subjects disclosed that the program influenced their school life in different ways. Some individuals spoke about grade increases, others about a new sense of self motivation and an inspiration to learn, others took steps within the system in an attempt to change some of the existent injustices, and others realized for the first time that their future could encompass college if they worked for it.

Some of the subjects who stated their grades improved due to Upward Bound said the following:

> The program helped me with my math. I was doing real bad in high school so I began tutoring and it helped me a lot. I think I had a C- and I went to a B+.

And,

> The later part of my junior year my grades started picking up and my senior years I made honors which I never did . . . It took me two summers but I could see the improvement myself.

And,

> The same except for mathematics, cause I started doing Algebra. They got me the books I needed, they went and got me the books I needed, you know. Cause they got me the books that would bring me just a slight step by step.

By looking at the grade averages in relation to the number of years students were in Upward Bound it is evident that students' grades generally improved over the time period they were enrolled. Comparing their first year to the year before they entered the program five students' averages decreased, two students' averages remained the same, and three students' averages increased. Three of the students whose grades decreased went down only 1-2 points, the others went down 4 and 5 points respectively. Increases were by 2, 6, and a marked 16 points. Therefore, generally students' grades remained relatively close to their prior year's averages, with the exception of two students whose grades decreased by 4 and 5 points and two students whose grades increased by 6 and 16 points. (The one student who decreased 5 grade points from solid B's to high C's in the 12th grade was enrolled in all college preparatory courses taking difficult subjects like calculus, physics, and an advanced language.)

Comparing the second to the first year public school grades while the students were in Upward Bound, a fewer number, or two, of the students showed a decrease in marks by 2 and 10 points, three students' averages remained the same, and three students' marks improved by 3, 3, and 4 points. This in the first year five of ten students' marks declined while in the second year a far better proportion of only two of eight students' grades declined. One of the students whose grade average remained the same from her first to her second

year in the program had raised her grades the previous year from F's to high C's so it was not surprising that her grades remained at high C's.

Four of the six students who were in the program for three years showed increases in grade averages. Two of these students demonstrated marked improvement--one over 20 points, and one 16 points. Both of the others' grades rose three points. Two students had declining grades--one by only one point and one by nine points. The student who decreased nine points was theindividual who lived in various foster homes. That particular year she lived in four homes and attended three different schools. In her next year in the program (she was the only subject in Upward Bound for four years) her grades stabilized in conjunction with her family situation, increasing by nine points.

Analyzing the mean grade averages it is obvious that there was a sharp increase from the prior year to the third year in the program. In the prior year students showed a total average of 71.9. This increased slightly in the first year as the students were in the program to 72.8. In the second year the mean grade average inclined some more--to a total of 73.0. The third year of enrollment in Upward Bound showed a substantial increase of almost five points to a total of 77.7. None of the students received all F's which at least one had done in each previous year. In summary the program had a significant impact on students' grades, showing

solid C's and B's in their third year as compared to C's, D's, and F's in their prior year to Upward Bound.

A major goal of the program was to provide supportive academic services for Upward Bound students so that their academic competence would increase. Students were all aware, before attending the summers, that the primary trust of the residential program was academics. They spent months preparing for the summer, designing their own individualized curricula and deciding which past teachers to rehire.

One way the program attempted to achieve these goals was to organize classes much differently than high school. Teachers were known by their first names, lounges served as classrooms, 7-10 students comprised a class, and personal recommendations were given each student in evaluation meetings with their teachers rather than traditional grades. Because personal caring relationships developed in the classroom and grades were not issued, students began to pursue education to learn. One student clearly stated,

> After the Upward Bound summers I taught myself because I wanted to keep on learning. I read a lot. I tried to block out the whole systematic way of education and tried educating myself. In high school I really became radical, really dealing with the issues and not letting people walk over me. I investigated those issues in the school with my friends too.

A second program design focused at increasing grades was the school year academic support offered by Upward Bound counselors. Grade prediction sheets were utilized. These

sheets had all the students' courses listed. At the beginning of each new quarter the students would indicate the grades they anticipated for the upcoming marking period with the Upward Bound counselor. Throughout the entire marking period Upward Bound counselors would periodically request teachers' progress reports which they would then match with students' grade prediction sheets in meetings with the students. This enabled the student to set short term goals, reinforcing them to pursue the longer term aspirations to attend college.

Upward Bound counselors also implemented tutoring programs in each community so students could receive individual outside help with subjects that were troublesome. Students were expected to request tutors if they needed them, so no Upward Bound student was expected to fail primary subjects during the school year. In fact, of the 12 subjects in this study (all of whom were at one time high risk students achieving at C, D, and E level work), only two subjects failed high school subjects during their senior year, a time when they were all enrolled in the program; one in Spanish and one in clerical typing. (Tutoring was not available in business courses.)

For the most part subjects reported their attendance in high school changed as a result of the program. The changes occurred both as a decreasing number of days absent and an increasing number of days absent.

Looking at the attendance records in relation to the number of years students were in Upward Bound shows generally individual improvements in attendance but remaining high rates of absenteeism. In both their first year of Upward Bound and the year prior to their enrollment in the program students showed generally high rates of absenteeism. Five of seven students (the number whose records were available) showed fewer days of public school attenance the first year of the program as compared to the previous year: One was in school 1 day less, one 9 days less, one 10 days less, one 18 days less and one 73 days less. Only two of the subjects showed improvement in attended school days: one by 3 days and one by 7 days.

The number of days absent in the second year as compared to the first year showed high rates of absenteeism for the same students. Four of seven students absences increased: one by 3 days, one by 8 days, one by 10 days, and one by 46 days. Two students attended school more frequently. The first student was absent 9 days in her first year in the program and missed school only 3 days her second year. The second student was absent 76 days in the first year and missed school 59 days in the second year.

Contrasting the absentee records of the third and second years of Upward Bound participation, high school records show an improvement in school attendance. Of five students, four had better records: one improved by 3 days, one im-

proved by 8 days, one improved by 10 days, and one improved by a substantial 46 days. Accounting for the one student whose attendance rates decreased was the student who was absent only 3 days in her second year. She was absent a total of only 12 days in her third year.

Despite individual improvement, students still maintained high rates of absenteeism. In the year before entering Upward Bound six students were absent over 2 weeks of the school year: in the first year of their enrollment 7 students were absent over 2 weeks of the school year; in their second year of enrollment 5 students were absent over 2 weeks; in the third year of enrollment 2 (of 5) students were absent over 2 weeks; and in the fourth year of enrollment in the program the one student was absent 6 weeks from school. Thus it is clear that although Upward Bound influenced better individual rates of attendance, absentee records were still high for most subjects throughout high school.

Two students spoke specifically about their attendance records radically changing as a result of Upward Bound.

> I was going to more classes. I used to skip a lot. I used to skip at least one class a day, at least. Sometimes I'd go to two classes all week. Well, I started going to more classes . . .

And,

> I was absent 44 times between the early part of my junior year and freshman year, and I was absent 3 or 4 times my senior year.

Some students' absentee records reflected a change in attitudes towards school. One student said,

> I thought I knew too much and I knew what they were talking about a lot of the time. So I got bored. But it didn't affect my grades that much. And there were racial issues going on all the time--and how can you deal with those things with such and such happening.

This particular student was an individual who began teaching her mother at home what she learned during the summer, who became a leader in the school advocating the hiring of minority teachers and the implementation of a black history course, and who brought stacks of books home on topics of interest to begin an elaborate process of self-education. Therefore her absentee record remained high--she missed 76 days in 11th grade and 59 days in 12th grade. Yet she was out of school for good reason, with direction and motivation to finally do something, to learn. Therefore it is important to look at her situation, and others' situations as to <u>why</u> they are out of school and <u>what</u> they are doing with that time.

The student who was in the program for 4 years had a similar experience. She found some aspects of school unimportant and ridiculous for her growth, while there were other more exciting things to learn outside the school setting. After failing to get permission to pursue independent study away from school, she took the situation into her own hands. One

thing she did was stop going to an early morning first period study hall that was wasted time for her. Consequently she was marked absent for 42 days. She also stopped going to classes during the day that bored her and that she could not change. She found in these classes she could just as easily read the text, since grades were a prerequisite for college, and pass the tests. When she learned in classes, she attended. Ironically, her grades all increased. These actions were conscious and willful decisions, aimed at learning and fulfilling her life.

These two students are good examples of how attendance might be thrown out of perspective when examined in the abstract, and how the program might support nonattendance in school. Both of these students questioned and challenged the rules imposed on them, and made decisions to use time in a way that substantiated their own development. Self determination was a key program goal. The Upward Bound philosophy did not encourage complacency and conformity. Instead a self determination that was real and valuable for the individual student was encouraged. Often this meant challenging the teachers, confronting irrelevant classroom materials, criticizing and attempting to improve boring classrooms and even entire school systems. The Upward Bound staff supported efforts to improve the system, and set themselves up as role models in the process.

Some things were implemented in the school systems as a

result of staff and student efforts. For example, in one district a black history class was instituted along with a bi-lingual program. In another district more minority teachers were hired who could better meet the needs of low income and minority students. In one district a student tried to set up an independent study curriculum and finally convinced the principal who in turn tried to convince the school board. The principal resigned from his job in frustration while the student persisted, trying to pave the way for future Upward Bound and other students.

An initial aim of the program had been to improve students' attendance in schools. As the staff matured, it saw there were other viable alternatives and solutions based on students' wills and goals. Students' grades were improving regardless of school days missed. An example would be the student who in the 11th grade missed 11 weeks of school and still received an overall 77 average. The same student in the 12th grade missed 8-1/2 weeks and maintained the same 77 average. As might be expected this was the student who was bored by school and began pursuing her own education rather than going to school. Another example would be the student who missed 6 weeks of school in her senior year but maintained a solid C average. This student also chose to educate herself rather than continue with an uninteresting and unchallenging public school education. Thus the staff could only conclude that some students had control over their academic environ-

ments, were keeping up with school work despite high absent rates, and were learning on their own. Therefore the records showing high absenteeism for Upward Bound students signifies only the numbers of days absent in sometimes unbending and stifling school environments, not the more substantive reasons why students were absent, what they did with that time, or the correlation to better academic achievement in high school.

Other students reported their participation influenced their attitudes towards school but chose to remain within the school environment to try and change it. Being out of the school and pursuing their own education, or challenging the school administration to the point of frustration whereby they just took things into their own hands was not their way. Upward Bound supported them too.

One student's attitude changed when she found herself no longer afraid of teachers after attending the Upward Bound summer.

> Because of Upward Bound it made me look at the teachers. It made me look at what they were doing and how they were doing it. Instead of a real negative attitude towards school just trying to understand what the teacher was doing and if I didn't like it just don't do it and don't be afraid. More like a challenging thing, you know, it helped me not to be afraid of the principal or teacher . . . just go up and ask him what he's doing.

Another student realized how terrible school was for her and joined the Mayor's Youth Commission. (The Mayor's Youth Com-

mission was designed to enable the city's youth to actively participate in local politics and keep the government informed about the youth's ideas, concerns, and beliefs. She soon became the most active member of the Commission.) Still another student realized how terrible school was and quit, going into an alternative environment that was closer to the Upward Bound education. One other student stopped being intimidated by guidance counselors who in past years had discriminated against her.

> In Upward Bound you learn a lot of things and then you just go back and think about it . . . I had my eye open a lot and I didn't allow myself to be kicked around anymore by the guidance counselors . . .

One student found herself skipping classes but remaining in school in the 'forbidden' teachers' room, discussing policies and curricula with them to try to get things changes. She said,

> I didn't want what they had to offer after what I saw was happening. I tell you, I worked harder to change the curriculum in the high school, I spent more time trying to change the curriculum than in class. I would go down to the teachers room and rap with the teachers about it, see what they thought, and it turned out a lot of them felt the same way I did. They were against the administration too. I would stay down there rapping and tell them it was my study period but actually I had algebra or something like that.

College provided incentive to improve grades and change attitudes in school too. One student said,

> I used to just get marks to get by. But I tried more . . . Well before school didn't really matter that much just getting a high school diploma. You know, it was just something, just did it so you could pass. You know, Upward Bound sort of stressed education as important so you took more interest in your work. If you wanted to go to college they said you have to have sort of decent grades, so you know you did the best you could then. You tried.

For most of the students the reality of college for the first time gave them a sense of purpose. They became motivated, there was some reason for achieving.

> Yes, my grades changes as well. This was because I was more enthusiastic about school so I was willing to put more time into it. I thought I was going to UMass.

Other subjects said,

> I buckled down to my work. Jim (Upward Bound staff) said if you don't do your work you're kicked out. And I wanted to go to college so I did the work.

And,

> Definitely! Better! From my last year I really got it together because I wanted to go to school. I wanted a college education.

And,

> It meant something, I could work for something. It gave me a chance to go to college, to UMass and as soon as I got to college I got on the honor roll.

One student had been ready to quit. She said,

> Completely. I wanted to quit high school and work at night . . . I really wanted to take a year off because I wanted to get my shit together. To make sure I knew exactly what I wanted. Through the program I realized I wanted a college education. I wanted to get a college education.

One student realized how much she needed college.

> . . . I didn't know how much you need school just to get a job so like when you go into the world and see there's no jobs you have to make it . . . if you want to keep up with society you have to go to school, get an education, and go to work. I think that's the most important thing Upward Bound did for me cause I didn't realize how much you needed school in a way . . .

And,

> I really wanted my diploma so I could get into college. After having a little bit of college like I really wanted to get into college.

Another subject said,

> Well, the only reason why I kept going to school, well after Upward Bound, I said, "Wow! There is a way for me to go to school!" And that gave me hope and determination and strength. But I still was very bored . . . . After Upward Bound I had a sense of purpose. I wanted to go. There was something for me to look forward to. There was a hope that I could go on further. OK, I went. I had to get a diploma because I knew that Upward Bound would help me get into college.

Another student said almost the exact same thing.

> I went all the time . . . before I hadn't. I guess it did have something to do with the Bound in a way. Because I really wanted to get my diploma so I could get into college.

Students were not only psychologically readjusting and developing through Upward Bound, but they were also looking forward to something tangible. To strive for college was a reality. This made their short term goals of changing their school behaviors and attitudes more meaningful and valuable in a long range perspective.

A little over one-half of the subjects reported their curriculum changes to college level courses as a result of their participation in Upward Bound. Four of the students who did not report a curriculum change had special situations. Two subjects had always been enrolled in college preparatory classes so had undergone no curriculum change. The other two subjects had been enrolled in a school district that was radically discriminatory. They both alluded to this throughout the interview and clearly explained their predicaments while talking about their curricula. One said,

> . . . I had college courses. I ended up getting a clerical diploma which was another form of racism. We had these terrible counselors who would mislead all third world people into taking all these irrelevant courses by your senior year you'd think you're getting a college diploma. Then I was short of English.

The other said,

> I started taking business courses but it wasn't because I wanted to, it was because one of the counselors told me I couldn't take English so I didn't get a CP diploma which made me mad, but I knew that if I wanted to go to college I could still go because Upward Bound told me that.

Thus it is important to look at some of the reasons like these two examples to examine why Upward Bound students remained in general or business courses despite an increase in academic skills and grades.

Some of the subjects who reported their curricula changed as a result of Upward Bound said the following:

> It changed the last year I was there. I had an open curriculum . . .

And,

> I was back and forth from business to general courses. After I was in Upward Bound I chose a college curriculum and stuck with it . . .

And,

> My senior year I wasn't going to take college prep courses at all but when I got into Upward Bound I changed back to CP. So a big difference.

The reasons why Upward Bound students did switch from a general or business track to a college preparatory track is easily recognizable. Summer academic classes supplemented the students with sufficient academic skills and motivation to achieve near or equal to their potential. The low achieving students returned to high school with a renewed interest and found lower tracked classes sometimes too easy or unchallenging. With the support of the Upward Bound couselor speaking with guidance counselors to cooperatively plan schedules, students were often retracked into college preparatory sec-

tions.

Another reason students transferred into college level tracks was because Upward Bound counselors met with guidance counselors periodically to ask about the student's progress. This familiarized the guidance counselors with the students and enabled them to work cooperatively with the Upward Bound staff for the betterment of the students rather than see Upward Bound as a threat. When necessary, Upward Bound counselors met with teachers, principals, and superintendents. This sensitized the administration to the program and created an efficient communication system for any conflicts that arose, making the students transfer into college classes a smoother transition based on performance rather than bias.

A few of the students were in unique situations, which affected the results of the educational aspect of this study. One student had immigrated from Latin America where he had already completed high school. He was living with a family, had few friends, spoke poor English, and was extremely introverted. Because of this the student was accepted into the program to help him adjust to American culture, improve his English, and attend college. While he was in the program he entered night school to study English. Consequently the individualized focus for this student concentrated on his personal growth and the development of his English.

A second student came to Upward Bound with a history of serious discipline problems from high school combined with

straight E's. He entered Upward Bound and began to mature, taking an interest in his life and his education. Returning to school he still found the environment unsuitable for him. His E's continued and his distaste for the school remained, partly his own doing, partly the unchanged expectations of his teachers. It became apparent that a traditional school setting was not appropriate for this particular student. Consequently Upward Bound assisted him in transferring to an alternative school with an environment similar to the Upward Bound summer program. He did graduate from the alternative school, but without the grades (the school was pass/fail curricula), and attendance records that would include an examination of him in the same perspectives as other subjects.

A third subject moved between several different schools as she moved from foster home to foster home. This created an unsystematic set of records--some were even lost. Therefore she, too, could not be examined in exactly the same light as the other subjects, who for the most part remained in one school and had complete records.

In looking at the twelve Upward Bound subjects in relation to school, the acknowledgement must be made that some of the students were in atypical situations. This can be carried over to the larger student population where the inference can be made that a number of students from the program were in special situations. Thus students must be analyzed in terms of their exclusive circumstances, each looked at in-

dividually.

In summary, the Upward Bound program played a major role in influencing changes in Upward Bound students' academic lives. Almost every subject experienced one or a combination of the following: an increase in self motivation; an improvement in grades; a change in attendance in a positive manner (sometimes attendance decreased when students pursued individualized educational programs of study which was regarded positive); a greater awareness of the educational system and subsequently action steps necessary to better that system; a switch in curriculum from business or general courses to college preparatory classes; a new realization that college was a feasible goal.

The Upward Bound Program structured devices into the program throughout the year to achieve these educational goals. During the follow-up tutorial programs were designed, grade prediction sheets were used, Upward Bound staff and public school personnel established relationships in which they reviewed Upward Bound students' progress, performance and class schedules, and students were encouraged to challenge social and political injustices existent in the school system.

The summer provided students with an alternative academic environment where they designed their own curricula, decided which teachers would be rehired, attended small informal classes, received intensive personal evaluations rat-

her than grades, and lived in a community with the teachers and tutors.

Three subjects had situations which were exclusive to the rest of the subjects. One came from Latin America where he had completed high school already, one transferred to an alternative school similar to Upward Bound where grades and curricula were unimportant, and one attended several schools as she moved among foster homes.

Significance of the Future

Most of the subjects reported Upward Bound helped them see their future clearer and without the program most would have been involved in different life circumstances. College becoming a true possibility and the subsequent control over one's life were formidable reasons for change in subjects' perspective of the future.

The fact college became a possibility affected different subjects in different ways. Some subjects gained a sense of purpose and strength. One subject said,

> I saw my future a little bit clearer. I saw my futher as something I could get to. Before I wanted to go to college but I didn't know how. It was something like I was trying to reach up before but there was no way. I didn't even see a ladder, or a helping hand, or nothing. It was just like hope. But Upward Bound was something solid that I could say "Wow!" They could help me out. I could do it.

A second subject also felt someone had finally taken an in-

terest in her and subsequently gained the confidence and motivation to try.

> I saw it different. Cause I saw Upward Bound as trying to help me where I didn't have the experience before. I felt that someone had an interest. That made me see myself as a different person. I knew I'd really make it. Upward Bound was really nice.

One subject gained the confidence she could pass in school. She said,

> A lot different. Because I didn't think I'd make it in college but I thought of maybe working on a job for a long time. I always wanted to be successful at whatever I did. But in my second summer of Upward Bound I really decided to go to college. It even looked like I could pass and before I didn't think I could get through.

Other subjects went through a strong personal growth.

> It was just that I wanted to look at myself so much that I had the courage to do something about wanting to be something.

And,

> . . . For one thing how many people. Because down there I used to be there just by myself every day where as down there they teach you how to be a community with other people to talk and other things, a lot of things.

Subjects reported their present situations would have been markedly different without the Upward Bound experience. Responses included the thoughts of unfulfilling jobs, mono-

And,

> Yeah, I think so. Everything goes back to then, to those days. I'm more open, my motivation is much greater, and I learned from the program about determination. Upward Bound made me determined! I don't know where I'd be without the Bound. I don't like to think about it. Probably on skid row in Northampton.

Looking at the examples it is obvious that the subjects found a new sense of power and control over their lives. No longer were they dominated by circumstances, but instead they could manage and regulate their own lives. The overall picture of where these people claimed they would be without Upward Bound looks bleak--working at the first job that came along, working in a sweat shop, being married at a young age with children mainly to escape home circumstances, stuck on religion as a refuge, and even on skid row. Through Upward Bound students began to gain a command over what they did and where they were going. Before dreams such as college, becoming a doctor, becoming a lawyer, or becoming a potterer may have very well been laughed at and scorned by friends, families, and school personnel. But being in Upward Bound these kids were no longer dreaming. They had gained the motivation and will to have a reason and thus take control.

Some subjects speculated personal shortcomings which would have remained without the program. They said,

> I would think I would be a little bit less what I am now because down there they teach me a lot of

> things, they teach me a lot of English. Give me a lot of help with my language. Still within myself and alone.

One student spoke about how his good will and respect towards others grew. For the first time he began to appreciate other people in the world around himself.

> In relation to the world I got to learn just different people, and everybody's got their thing, you know, I'm just gonna wish them luck and if I could help them work at it. That's what you gotta do, you gotta learn anything you want to do. Maybe a lot more ignorant of life, people.

And,

> Yeah, I'm a person, you know? I'm my own person. I talk about that all the time . . . I just reflect on it and think, "Yeah, if not for Upward Bound I wouldn't be here."

The Upward Bound program aimed at reshaping and restructuring the students' lives out of the poverty cycle, into a more rewarding and fulfilling present and future. By national Upward Bound goals the program was designed to assist students to attend institutions of higher education, but the UMass Amherst Upward Bound program broadened this goal to include support to pursue other self-defined directions and life styles. Nevertheless most University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound students chose college as a future goal.

In the previous section on academics and school some of

the reasons were already discussed why students' academic performance and attitudes changed in relation to college as a future goal. Yet other aspects of the program played an important part in helping students to see their future with more clarity. One built-in mechanism which did this was the role bridge students (those students who were seniors going into their freshman year of college) acquired. Bridge students assumed leadership roles in the program. They helped in the recruitment process for new students, oriented new students, facilitated or co-facilitated community meetings, visited new parents' homes with Upward Bound staff, and assumed the responsibility for helping maintain a good and productive program. Upward Bound counselors supported bridge students so that year to year the bridge class was encouraged to become leaders in the Upward Bound community.

In the summer bridge students were physically set apart from non-bridge students in separate corridors. This was because they had different curfew hours, the freedom to drink alcohol if they were over 18 and away from the dorm, and no counselors on their floors to supervise them. This created a situation where bridge students were almost completely responsible for their actions while simultaneously setting an example for the rest of the program. Additionally, the bridge students were not enrolled in Upward Bound courses, but instead taking University summer courses. This independence and self responsibility set them up as role models for the

younger students. Ninth, tenth, and eleventh graders could see the bridge students, who had only a year or two before been in the same predicament as them, as mature young adults who were entering college. This concretized the fact that they, too, would one day be bridge students.

Non-bridge students also knew that bridge students remained in the program two weeks longer than them for an eight week period while they finished their college courses. This time period was always regarded as special by members of the program. It was a time when the staff and bridge students (who had been in the program from one to four years) formed a small community providing a closeness and ability to relate very intimately during the final stages of membership in the program. Special events such as dinners and trips were scheduled during this time. These last two weeks were looked at by the program as a priviledged span of time, something that all the non-bridge students aspired to. Once again there was a tangible goal ahead that the non-bridge students could see for themselves if they stuck it out.

Another reason students saw their futures with more clarity was because they knew upon graduation from the program their relationship with Upward Bound was not severed. Staff stressed that lines of communication were always open to students. Former students returned to the program as summer staff. A support group was formed at the University which met with staff to discuss personal and academic problems. All

this helped students to see that if they wanted or needed help in sorting out their lives or future, the Upward Bound staff would be available. This created an important framework for those students who were hesitant or afraid of their future in college.

Each of the Upward Bound students' goals were examined closely by Upward Bound counselors, helping them to gain a better perspective of their futures. These goals were a constant theme of communication over the period of the student's Upward Bound enrollment. Career development programs were set up to familiarize students with realities about job opportunities and specific professions. Therefore the students had a well rounded picture of exactly where they were heading and what they must do to get there. This helped eliminate myths or false preconceptions and gave students a better sense of direction.

For one student the questions about the significance of her future were not relevant. She said,

> I can't say because I never have actually planned out my future or thought about it. You know.

The questions in the study concerning future had assumed the subjects had thought about their futures and were based on that premise.

Three other subjects were undecided on the questionnaire whether or not Upward Bound affected their perspective on the future, but in the interview contradicted themselves saying

the program had an effect. Two of these subjects' situations are discussed in the next section on inconsistences. The third subject wrote an interesting explanation on her questionnaire sheet. She said,

> It (Upward Bound) made me more aware of certain situations but confused me as to my future goals. Before the Bound I probably would have settled for the usual rut, but not afterwards.

This statement shows that the subject became more aware of her future, but more perplexed by the wider range of available alternatives.

In summary most of the subjects reported Upward Bound helped them see their futures in a clearer perspective. They gained control over their lives claiming that without the program they would be in such situations as dead end jobs, unfulfilling marriages, burdened with children or on skid row. Furthermore some subjects speculated they would have been hindered by a narrow perspective of life. Through Upward Bound subjects saw college as a possibility for the future, increased self motivation, discovered a sense of purpose in their lives, gained confidence, and saw themselves mature.

The program devised a system whereby bridge students were set up as role models following a different set of rules and having a different set of responsibilities. Younger students saw these things in the program and watched bridge students finally entering college. This actually helped non-

bridge students see a pathway for their own futures.

In addition non-bridge students saw how bridge students remained a part of the program even after their graduation receiving staff support when necessary. This provided a safeguard for those students who were unsure about succeeding in college which in turn helped the students perceive their future more clearly.

During the students' enrollment in Upward Bound future goals were examined very closely, giving students a well rounded practical conception of their futures including job opportunities and the education necessary for specific professions.

Inconsistencies in the Questionnaire and Interview Responses

Out of a total number of 18 possible contradictions in the questionnaire and interview responses, six subjects had only 1 or 2 contradictory responses; three subjects had only 3 contradictory responses, while two subjects accounted for most of the inconsistencies with 7 contradictions each. Generally the subjects who had 1, 2, or 3 contradictory answers either interpreted the verbal or written questions differently or had personal situations where the material was irrelevant but was inexpressable on the questionnaire.

The two subjects with more than 7 contradictions each were primarily responsible for the recurring inconsistencies

in the research. The author feels there were several reasons for these subjects to have this number of discrepant responses.

One reason related to the initial questions in the interview. The questions were direct and very personal, asking if subjects felt they knew themselves any better as a result of Upward Bound. This resulted in an interview process which made students evaluate their growth process and involvement in the program very closely. The two subjects responded defensively with short abrupt phrases. "No," and "Not really. Nothing much happened to me." (A third subject who had difficulty with the style and the question responded more honestly saying, "I can't get into it now.") The interview was a difficult experience, especially for these two subjects who began on such a protective note. It was direct, challenging and made each individual look very closely at him/herself. There may have been a reluctance by these two subjects to reflect on the Upward Bound years (which were very dependent years for many of the students) or a hesitation to acknowledge Upward Bound as the catalyst (rather than themselves) for change in certain areas of personal development. It is interesting to note these two subjects contradicted their questionnaire and interview responses throughout the interview, sometimes indicating that Upward Bound had a very strong impact on their lives.

Another reason these two subjects had the number of inconsistent responses they did relates to their environmental

circumstances. When they filled out the questionnaire and answered the interview questions, they were the only subjects in the study who had other people in the room. One subject had a full time baby-sitting job for two children. During the interview she was responsible for the children and somewhat anxious about their interrupting or doing something wrong. The interviewer found himself and the second subject surrounded by an inquisitive and morally obligated family. Everyone attended--both parents, the grandmother, an aunt, two sisters, one brother, and a niece.

The questionnaire as a method of personal evaluation may be yet another reason why these two subjects (and other subjects) were inconsistent in their responses. The questionnaire permitted only a circling of an appropriate response permitting no chance to expand on or explain what they meant. The interview, on the other hand, enabled subjects to speak about related issues to questions, accounted for personal circumstances, permitted explanations, and created a means by which rich, multi-dimensional data could surface. Therefore the two contrasting styles of a written questionnaire and verbal interview caused inconsistent responses.

The author surmises that there were several reasons why two subjects accounted for most of the inconsistent responses in the data. One reason was because of the directness of the interview. Questions were generally straight forward and to the point which was uncomfortable for the two subjects. A

second reason related to the intimate nature and in-depth investigation of the personal and private aspects of individuals' lives as associated with Upward Bound. A possible third reason related to the two subjects wanting to take credit for their own growth rather than pointing to Upward Bound as the instrumental outside influence. A fourth reason related to the environmental situation of the two subjects who both had other people in the room with them when they filled out the questionnaire and answered the interview questions. Therefore the responses to the questionnaire and interview for the two subjects came out confused and contradictory more often than they did for other subjects.

Other Areas of Impact

The results of the study continually point to the fact that Upward Bound significantly affected subjects' lives in three main other areas in addition to the five areas of inquiry. Specifically the three areas were: a greater political awareness and sophistication, a spirit of synergism, and an appreciation and respect for other individuals and cultures. Each of these three areas of impact will be discussed in this section.

The development of a greater political awareness and sophistication by Upward Bound students. Historically the Upward Bound program looked at students' problems as solely their own, basically adopting a reflective-confrontative

counseling philosophy to help students sort out personal issues. As the staff matured, seeing more and more that the elements of poverty played a major part in students' problems, the philosophy of the program gradually evolved into a reflective-confrontative counseling posture combined with a political component to sensitize and educate students to the sociopolitical factors of their lives and poverty.

The program as a micro-culture was inherently structured to eliminate racism. Black, white, and Latin students from diverse backgrounds were all brought together (in many instances for the first time) to live in close contact with people from other ethnic origins. Therefore all the students worked through their prejudices and began to understand and accept other ethic groups. Through Upward Bound the subjects also began to understand their povery. One subject said,

> . . . and then when I realized being around people that were even as poor as I was and they were in the same position I was . . .

Another subject saw her mother from a different perspective,

> . . . I always looked down at my mother because I thought she'd be able to give me nice clothes and she'd be able to give me that, you know, and I thought she was doing things with the welfare money just so I couldn't get it, you know, and I thought there had to be a better way of life. And then I saw all these other people in the Upward Bound and they had either less and in a lot of cases one or more of their parents were alcoholics and they smoked cigarettes which my mother didn't do, and because they were running around with other men and doing a lot of things to disrupt their lives and my mother wasn't.

So the staff went further than the basics of living together, structuring mechanisms into the program to eliminate the detrimental effects of the larger society.

One such mechanism was the classes. Classes were set up so as to be relevant to students' lives--black history, social problems, English, and math--all dealing with poverty and the American system. Students responded in the interview how classes helped them to better understand poverty.

> . . . more aware of myself as a woman and more aware of the situation of poor people . . .

And,

> . . . being made aware of the social structure and they way it affects "lower class" individuals especially black people.

Other students began to open up to their blackness.

> . . . Classes that they had in the program were good. There was one dealing with black issues which helped open up and evolve a new part of me.

In fact, one year an action-oriented curriculum was instituted into the social problems classes. A day was set aside and coined "Community Day." Community day involved one day a week when all students returned to their home communities with teachers and volunteered their services in various community agencies. By this experience students saw they were not responsible for some of their problems but rather there was a socio-economic framework for many of the diffi-

culties. Community day provided an outlet where students who had been learning about social change and commitment could actually do something about it.

The continual staff support of students in their efforts to understand their predicament of being poor was a second mechanism in combating the affects of poverty. The staff acted not only as counselors, but also as political educators, switching the problems from being totally personally oriented to a combination of being internally and externally oriented. For example, one bright student was miserably failing in high school and ranked the lowest in his class. He constantly received flack from public school teachers, guidance counselors, and administrators even when he began receiving all A's and made the honor roll. Instead of looking at him as the problem, the Upward Bound staff taught him to understand the problem as a function of the school system which he attended.

A third way the program politicized the students was to examine the students' personal experiences. Although students temporarily left the immediate symptoms of poverty when they came to the summer program, the summer staff persisted in exploring the students' home situations. Shared experiences were a focus for classes and discussions such as hunger, no heat, no electricity, one parent, alcoholics in the family, prostitution, drugs, crime, unemployment, social service agencies such as welfare offices, etc. From this sharing, and from the information and questions posed by staff,

students slowly gained a political realization about themselves and their world. This led to an even larger scale because they gained a sophistication about their own problems and the problems existent in the larger American society and began to be able to sort out their own issues and those stemming from the negative repercussions of poverty.

The development of a spirit of synergism by Upward Bound students. Subjects repeatedly spoke about the feeling of community and family that Upward Bound instilled in them. One subject spoke about Upward Bound as her home saying:

> I remember most how home like the program was for me . . . I remember how much I missed the program when I went home on weekends and went back to school in the fall.

The diversity of the program coupled with the communal solidarity made it a unique and special experience which naturally over the course of time evolved into a synergistic setting. One subject eloquently stated,

> The warm atmosphere and the solidarity among Upward Bound students is what I remember most about Upward Bound. I remember a sort of family closeness among us and a willingness to help each other discover himself.

Summer time Upward Bound had the characteristics of a healthy family. It was in this structure that students could truly open up and share with each other. People were really available to help other people, creating a synergistic environment. Students were quick to internalize this. One

subject expressively revealed,

> The family-like feeling during the summer here at UMass. . . . I appreciated being part of the Upward Bound program . . . I think the whole experience is just inside of me, a part of it. Just like the summer feeling of a whole family, like we were thought to be of one family. Like you see someone from the Bound on campus and you still stalk to each other. It's really nice. You're still friends.

The program was composed of black, white, and Spanish-speaking youth from rural and urban areas. The development of a cooperative spirit, to say the least, was a difficult undertaking. Despite the odds the Upward Bound program systematically designed and impelemented a program which fostered a spirit of community. Some subjects perceptively felt that even the same group of people with any other program structure may not have developed the same community feelings. One person said,

> I know if I had been in any other place with the same people I probably wouldn't have gotten along with them as well as I did.

In this climate the students found what they could share with each other: similar goals, similar economic backgrounds, and some of the same problems. Finding their commonalities as well as seeing their differences produced a synergistic community where individuals were mainly interested in developing themselves and helping other members of the community do the same. The essence of this section is in the words of

one subject.

> I just found a certain type of happiness, a certain type of thing in Upward Bound that I don't think I've ever found. It's the kind of experience that I think everyone should get into.

The development of an appreciation and respect for other individuals and cultures. Relating directly to the creation of a synergistic community is the third area of major impact on students not included specifically in the five areas of inquiry. This area was the development of an appreciation and respect for other individuals and cultures. Although the discussion about the influence of the program on family, friends, and self mentions this aspect of personal growth, the significant degree to which subjects referred to it warrants a separate discussion.

Implicit in the program goals was the development of an understanding and regard for others' life styles, values, attitudes, and cultures. The close living quarters of the summer program made it necessary that one's personal maturity develop to meet the demands of living with others. Without mutual respect and understanding the program would not function. Subjects continually reported that Upward Bound had an overwhelming impact on them further developing these characteristics. For example some subjects said,

> Learning to deal with people and not just say to myself, "Well, then, fuck them." If I had a problem with someone I would talk to them.

Or,

> The way I learned to deal with people . . . having people talk to me and being able to be with other people and being close to them.

Or,

> I learned a lot from it. Things about people, things about school, different ways to look at it instead of looking with one attitude like that's the way it is cause that's the way I feel and try to understand that there's other ways.

Or,

> The way I learned to deal with people, the fine friends I made . . . having people to talk to me and being able to be with other people . . . being with people I love, they're their own people, they help people.

As individuals began to see and understand themselves, they became able to clearly look at other people and the world around them. They could be themselves and related to the world from a more positive and appreciative frame of reference. Students gained a confidence in themselves, and an internal strength. When they were without the strength it was difficult for them to understand or accept other peoples' differences.

Students were faced with the situation of an intense summer environment which left no room for retreat or withdrawal. Interestingly enough, several students who entered the summer program shy and withdrawn left the summer with num-

erous friends, new values, and a deeper overall awareness of the differences between themselves and others. One subject stated,

> It was pretty lonely but the rest of the time I spent there I opened up a lot and made lasting friendships which I hope I will never lose.

As reported earlier, subjects gained an understanding of both personal and social racism. One subject simply said,

> I got rid of a lot of prejudice.

Another subject was more specific about her growth.

> Learning about black people . . . like the last year there stared to be racial overtones, a lot more than when we first got in.

Students were not only academically learning about different races, different values, and different life styles, but they were in a day-to-day living situation which was the basis for their learning.

The comprehension and appreciation that Upward Bound students gained for individuals and cultures sometimes takes other people years. Upward Bound students achieved the understanding at such an early age in so short a period of time partly because they were (mostly for the first time) away from home and living with other people besides their immediate families. Not only were they living intimately with other people, but these people were from diverse ethnic back-

grounds. The composition of the Upward Bound program greatly affected the development of both mutual and self respect, wherein students were able to feel part of a whole experience, a whole community.

Present Situation

To summarize the final impact of Upward Bound on its students this section will investigate the subjects' current status. The majority, or seven of the twelve subjects, are currently enrolled in college. This relates back to the Upward Bound program which focuses on the pursuit of higher educational goals for Upward Bound students. Most of the seven students reflected that they would not be in college today without the assistance of the program, with responses such as,

> The first job I was offered I would have took. That would be terrible.

And,

> I'd probably be married, have a couple of kids, be out on the street, very religious.

And,

> . . . I don't know where I'd be without Upward Bound. I don't like to think about it. Probably on skid row in Northampton.

None of the students who are in college, or who have been in college, reported that they would have been in college with-

out participating in Upward Bound. Therefore the author surmises that the seven students enrolled in college are there as a result of the intervention of the Upward Bound program.

Four of the five students not currently enrolled in college are planning to enter college. Three of these four already have college experience--one, a year; one, a half year; and one, a half semester. Consequently these students have already experienced not only Upward Bound summers in a college environment, but additionally lived on campus and were enrolled as full time students in college. Without the Upward Bound experience this would not be a realistic goal for these students, but having had some experience and knowing what they're moving into by re-entering college they have a better change of succeeding.

Looking at the Upward Bound students' families one can see that there are no role models who went to college. Upward Bound parents do not have the experience or advice to set a precedent--the student is the forerunner. Most students upon entering Upward Bound never thought of attending college and entertain the thought only as they remain in Upward Bound, see other Upward Bound students enter college, and realize that college is a potential reality. Therefore the fact that seven students are still enrolled in college and four others plan to enroll in the future, shows that Upward Bound had an affect on the directions in which its students are moving.

The one subject who does not anticipate going to college is married with a child. This subject entered the program as a shy, withdrawn Spanish-speaking youngester rarely speaking to other males, let alone females. His work in the program was to come out of himself, communicate more, and improve his English. Through the program he gained a number of friends, a feeling of community, and a wife. He is presently working at a high paying job establishing a home for his wife and child.

None of the students are receiving public assistance although seven of their families received full public aid and two of their families received partial public aid. Four of the five students not in college are working full time, supporting themselves. Thus the fact that four graduate students are financially independent, and seven graduate students are in college shows that Upward Bound plays a significant role in helping students to become self sufficient and break the poverty cycle.

The fifth student who is not in college is presently enrolled in a work training program learning a skill so he can be self supporting. There is an interesting reason behind this student not already having a skill or a full time job. His main interest is in music. He has been practicing on his own and with a band for some time. In fact when I interviewed him he showed me a section of the rock opera his group had written. Oddly enough the rock opera was about poverty and

oppression in an attempt to educate people. Some of the words went like this:

A young man rises in the ghetto
Opens his eyes to see
Another day of crying
That's all his world can be

Just keep right on existing
No purpose in his mind
He's got that empty feeling
There's something he should find

You see him walking on the street
Ignore him he's no good
He'd steal the eyes right from your head
That is you think he would

CHORUS
That boy has been forgotten
He'll never find his way
H'll live among the dirt and muck
Right to his dying day

I tell you I won't take it
I'm going to start the fight
I'm calling you to join me
We got to do what's right
END CHORUS

I don't think I could show you
The anger that I feel
People going down the drain
To you it's no big deal

Welfare is always degrading
But he has no place to start
So give that boy a place now
Open up your heart

It's time to start the show
Its purpose is quite clear
We hope that you'll enjoy it
Then put your butt in gear.*

---

*The subject that wrote this was the individual who had all F's during his public school years until he transferred into an alternative school.

In the tradition of Upward Bound this student was pursuing his own interests and goals. When he finally realized he wasn't going to make a living from his music he went out and found a work training program to learn a skill whereby he could become self supporting.

In conclusion, Upward Bound definitely motivates "high-risk" low income high school youth towards achieving a state of self sufficiency encouraging them to pursue higher educational goals and/or motivating them to secure full time employment.

Upward Bound's Impact on Others

This study primarily focuses on the influence of Upward Bound on Upward Bound students. Yet the impact of a program like Upward Bound reaches far beyond the student population. Directlyand indirectly the program affects many other individuals and groups. Consequently in this section there will be a broader view of the program, focusing on the program's impact on non-Upward Bound students, Upward Bound families, the Upward Bound staff, community agencies, and local, state, and federal politicians.

Non-Upward Bound Students

Although University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound had 140 students it was funded for only 120 students. The reason for this was simple: the need for the program by

high risk low income students was tremendously greater than the program could serve. 140 was the maximum number of students the program could stretch its budget to encompass without sacrificing the effectiveness of its services for each student.

In some urban areas there were 30 applicants for one student opening, while in rural areas there were as many as 10 applicants for one student opening. This great need, combined with only two Upward Bound programs to service Western Massachusetts, left large number of impoverished high school youth without an opportunity to experience Upward Bound or go on to college.

Based on the overwhelming number of applicants, minimal funds, and two programs, Upward Bound endeavored to assist all the students it could during any given year. In the high schools and in the communities Upward Bound staff would often see 45 or more non-Upward Bound students in urban areas and 15 or more non-Upward Bound students in rural areas. The staff would provide counseling and guidance for these students by helping them to fill out college forms, making contractual agreements that they would improve their academic work, and providing personal counseling when necessary. At the same time staff would be negotiating with colleges and universities for acceptance and financial aid for non-Upward Bound students. Therefore the program reached far beyond the student population of 140 to assist as many as 300-400 more

students that the program didn't have room for.

Not only did the staff have an impact on non-Upward Bound students, but the Upward Bound students influenced non-Upward Bound students too. Examples of this were evident in the students' self-reports. For instance one student took her friends to integrated "hang-outs", one student had his friends all reading the newspapers and discussing current events, one student was inspired by Upward Bound to join the Mayor's Youth Commission, other students were forerunners in mobilizing non-Upward Bound students to challenge existent unjust school policies, and some students began to "hang-out" with students from other ethnic backgrounds consequently introducing their friends to new people and other cultures.

Upward Bound Families

The section on the impact of the program on students in relation to their families extensively discussed the influence Upward Bound had on families. To briefly recapitulate, Upward Bound influenced families in the following ways: by instilling a sense of self pride and respect in family members, by fostering a sense of hope and determination in family members, by helping families gain power over their lives, by offering educational alternatives for students and parents by introducing college (or for parents high school graduation) as a viable option, by fostering a sense of cultural pride in families, by helping create healthier family units

via family counseling, by including families as an integral part of the program in the decision-making process of Upward Bound, and by encouraging parents to take an active role in local, state, and federal spheres.

The Upward Bound Staff

One of the most strongly affected groups other than students by Upward Bound was the Upward Bound staff. The full time administrative staff and the summer staff totalled approximately 40 people who not only worked together, but lived together, ate together, agonized together, and rejoiced together.

The combined staff was engaged in trying to effectively institute an Upward Bound program. Doing this the staff underwent the joyful and painful process of their own personal, social, and political growth. Demands on students were similar for staff--personal, social, and political growth by accepting responsibility for their own lives, leading honest lives, gaining a commitment to oneself, each other, and their communities, and respecting other life styles and cultural backgrounds. Without being open to their own course of growth, the staff did not have a chance to effectively reach the students or one another.

The program created an environment where personal characteristics and traits were quickly emphasized. Needs, wants, shortcomings, and their special talents that were formally

unrecognized, became apparent rapidly in the live-in summer program. Staff members had to address themselves to personal dimensions as well as respond to them in other program members. There was no room for retreat in an Upward Bound summer--the "shit" had to be dealt with in order to provide a coherent continuity in action, philosophy, and words.

Living with students and other staff gave individual staff members a feeling of community, not an office where one was employed. Staff's work was never finished at 3:00 or 5:00--the classroom was everywhere. A deep-rooted community commitment resulted so that the program became the Upward Bound family. In a family of 180 people, all working full time towards the same and similar goals, staff members questioned their values and ideals and learned about themselves as social change agents. Staff had to look closely at themselves to see if they were who they thought they were and if they were accomplishing what they thought they would accomplish.

In the Upward Bound environment staff gained an awareness and understanding of poverty and oppression. They learned firsthand from the students if they did not already know. Upward Bound was an alternative mini-culture trying to improve on the outside larger society. Norms, values, and interpersonal relationships were re-evaluated to try to make the program into a true community, in an attempt to erase the ills of the dominant society. Blacks from the inner city, whites

from the country, and Spanish-speaking students from the innercity all joined together in the program. Upward Bound sincerely took on a huge task attempting no longer to merely "talk" about changing the system, but "doing" something about it by creating an alternative system that had a powerful positive impact.

The change originates within oneself. Staff helped create a viable minature social-political alternative system by first changing themselves and then endeavoring to eradicate the devastating effects of poverty by participating in a residential summer program. Just as students went through tremendous growth living with people from different cultural backgrounds and with different life styles, values, and attitudes, so did staff. The program in its success helped the staff see the unhealthy aspects of society that are so often blindly accepted and taken for granted. Through the program the staff gained the confidence, determination, and belief that society could be changed by constructive action.

Community Agencies

Being a community based program, Upward Bound worked closely with other community agencies all over Western Massachusetts. Upward Bound was a leader in instituting a resource network of agencies to share resources, ideas, and strategies. Although there was an attempt by Upward Bound to structure a

Western Massachusetts collaborative of community agencies, the agencies' energy and enthusiasm for such a project eventually dispersed because of distance and time.

Nevertheless Upward Bound asked concerned agencies to be represented on its Community Resource Committee. Through this committee contact was maintained with community agencies, and ideas, resources, and strategies were still exchanged. In addition, Upward Bound assisted new programs trying to get off the ground by sharing pertinent information and introducing other agencies with expertise. Thus, Upward Bound succeeded in initiating a cohesive resource network of community agencies and pooling skills and knowledge in an attempt to foster social and political change.

Local, State and Federal Politicians

The target area of the 1972 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program covered four counties in Western Massachusetts: Berkshire County, Hampden County, Franklin County, and Hampshire County. From these four counties the Upward Bound program drew students from 23 different high schools spreading the program over the entire Western Massachusetts area. This produced a broad community base with coordinated contacts in a 75 mile radius.

The Upward Bound staff encouraged parents of the 140 students to act, to get out of their homes, to join together and have some input in their communities. This started on a com-

munity level where parents formed community Upward Bound parent advisory boards. These organizations offered an avenue for political input and change. On local levels each parent organization communicated with local politicians--selectment, state representatives, and state senators--by means of letters and occasional meetings. Faced by an organized group of concerned citizens, politicans heard and responded to them. At the very least politicians became aware of some problems of poor people and Upward Bound, and sometimes made or attempted to change policies in the government.

When larger tasks were at hand Upward Bound parents joined together in a unified program body. Oftentimes the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound parents spearheaded other statewide parent organizations, writing letters and meeting with state and federal representatives. Parents attended state meetings of community groups, made calls, and kept informed of current politics.

At one point Congress was seriously considering decreasing the money allocated to special service programs including Upward Bound. The University of Massachusetts, Amherst, parents and staff combined to nationally challenge the decrease in funds, leading the nation in an effort to thwart the cut. It worked. -5 million dollars were added to the legislation for special service programs led by the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program.

Consequently Upward Bound parents and staff attempted,

and in many cases succeeded, in fostering more sensitive local, state, and federal representatives, and thus succeeded in bringing about some necessary social changes.

Future Recommendations for an Effective Upward Bound Program

There are several recommendations that the author feels would be beneficial for future Upward Bound programs. The recommendations include the various levels of the program--the students, the staff, the program--and suggestions for future research, and the national level.

The first recommendation would regard students. One idea would be to implement an exchange program with other Upward Bound programs. This means individuals would attend Upward Bound summer programs in other parts of the country, enabling students to truly see that poverty is nationwide as well as experience the tone of other programs. Students would be expected to return to the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, program and report to the student body about their growth and experience. This would allow the entire Upward Bound population to share the experience and help the returning individual further clarify his/her experience.

A second recommendation would be for the program to implement a more concrete long range planning program for students. Each student upon acceptance to the program would be expected to write his/her long range goals with the assistance of the Upward Bound counselor. Based on their long term

ambitions short term goals would be constructed providing a more realistic picture for each student. As they accomplished their short term goals long range plans would become more conceivable which is important for the Upward Bound student who often needs more immediate gratification. Staff and student evaluations would occur four times a year to review short and long term goals creating a mechanism to critique students' progress and authenticity for future plans.

The writer also suggests that bridge students' relationship to non-bridge students be systematically defined within the program. At present the bridge students have taken a leadership position in the program, setting themselves up as role models for non-bridge students. A defined plan could be structured into the program whereby bridge students were responsible as "big brothers" for 5-8 of the non-bridge students during the course of the year. This would provide a mechanism where the position of the bridge students was clearly defined. Hence the program would systematically structure this already important informal feature into a formalized aspect of Upward Bound.

A fourth recommendation would be to structure self-sustaining graduate student support groups. Graduate students have never had a reunion in the history of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program. The only semi-successful meetings have been when staff have organized a class support group which gradually disintegrated when staff

returned their attention to the high school students. Therefore the support groups would have to be organized during the student's years in Upward Bound and maintained by the students themselves after graduation. This would undoubtedly provide sustenance to work out personal problems and college difficulties.

A fifth recommendation that would also relate to graduate students would be to institute an action program whereby former Upward Bound students could work in the field with current Upward Bound students. There would be a strong orientation and training program to familiarize them with the procedures of the program and impart basic counseling skills. As they worked during the year there would be a close supervision by full time staff members so that they could continue to grow and better assist the current Upward Bound students. This may be negotiated with the University as a full year action program internship for 30 credits.

For the staff the writer recommends that a clinical training program be implemented. Workshops in individual, group, and family counseling could be offered as part of staff meetings. This would insure that staff members would have the expertise to operate more skillfully with individuals, with families, and with groups of students. In conjunction, workshops and training sessions should be held in areas such as legal aid, welfare rights, housing laws, special education, new and pending legislation, and financial

aid regulations. This would further educate the staff to become strong combinations of trained counselors and knowledgeable community workers.

Another suggestion would be for the program to establish a coalition of Western Massachusetts social service agencies. Efforts could be made to reinstitute this body so that a unified organization of agencies could support one another with funding and services. Upward Bound could renew its endeavors to coordinate such a network, acting as a central agency.

As another recommendation the author suggests that Upward Bound contracts with various two and four year colleges to secure admissions and financial aid for non-Upward Bound "high-risk" low income students who are peripherally affiliated with the program and consequently prove themselves in school. This would include not only high school youth, but Upward Bound students' brothers and sisters as well.

Younger brothers and sisters would be the focus for another recommendation. A Junior Upward Bound program could by planned and implemented by current Upward Bound students, graduates, and staff. These programs would be run on a community basis. The results of such programs would be: 1) to provide a much needed program for impoverished youngsters in order to reach them at an early age; 2) to motivate youth and therefore future aspirations and goals at an early age; 3) to deter youth from drugs, alcohol, and crime by fostering a sense of future and thus purpose and meaning in their lives.

It is important to note this study's limitations so that future studies will not duplicate similar errors when undertaking humanistic evaluations of programs such as Upward Bound. Therefore the author has several recommendations for future researchers.

One limitation of the study was the utilization of both a questionnaire and an interview. The author found the combination of these two styles to be radically different, eliciting different responses and reactions from some of the same subjects. Some subjects were reluctant to respond to a written questionnaire, expressing their discomfort non-verbally with frowns, surprised looks, and slight explanations of dismay. A few subjects rushed through the questionnaire circling answers as quickly as possible, seemingly not wanting to be bothered with another "test". Consequently the questionnaire, rather than clarifying and substantiating the data, often confounded it.

Rather than using a questionnaire, the author recommends for future research a second follow-up interview be used a few weeks later. One reason for this is that subjects generally responded with more enthusiasm and interest to the interview. In evaluating an experience as rich as Upward Bound, it is difficult for subjects to limit responses to circling a letter. The interview allowed them to expound on their feelings and thoughts, whereas the questionnaire was a more restricted narrow means of communication. A second reason to

use a following-up interview would relate to the reactions of subjects to the first interview. Some said,

> This sure stirs up a lot in me.

Or,

> I'll be thinking about the Bound a lot now.

Or,

> Wow, I'll really have a lot of the answers about this tomorrow now that we've talked.

Or,

> These are sure heavy questions.

The interview was extremely personal and brought up many deep issues and feelings in the subjects. A second interview would reassure and reaffirm the data collected in the first interview, allowing subjects to ponder over the initial material. Two interviews would not create the problems of switching methods of data collection, for undoubtedly the questionnaire method affected some of the subjects' responses. A second interview would therefore provide a consistency that was lacking in the utilization of two distinctly different modes of information gathering. A third reason the author recommends two interviews over a period of a few weeks would be the time lapse. This study did not allow for a time span.

It is now evident that the process that would take place during a few weeks would be important for the subjects to consider information from the first interview. Subjects already having experienced the process and the questions in the first interview is a fourth reason why a second follow-up interview is recommended. During the first interview some subjects were nervous and somewhat closed. A second interview would eliminate some of this because subjects would know what to expect. A second follow-up interview would also provide a chance for the subject to complete his/her own growth process. The first interview raised many issues for all the subjects. A second interview would give the subject an opportunity to mull over the data and better understand and sort out new data.

A second limitation of the study was the size of the sample and the physical location of the sample. The study analyzed 12 subjects who were all in a geographical proximity which allowed them to participate in the study. 11 of the remaining 12 subjects from the Upward Bound class of 1972 could not be found or were situated too far away to be personally interviewed. Therefore the segment of the total population are those who remained somewhat near their home environment and could be found. The question remains, "Are the subjects who are available or who chose to remain in the Western Massachusetts area different from those individuals who chose to leave the area or unable to be located?"

The author suggests that ideally other interviewers be instructed so that the total population can be examined. This may mean tapping instructions in a cassette, or clearly writing them out and then sending them back to the investigator. In any event this would permit subjects living at great distances to participate in the study which would constitute a more well-rounded picture of the total population.

A third limitation of the student was the absence of a control group. For the purposes of this humanistic evaluation, though, it is sufficient to note that a control group was not necessary. There was no attempt to prove or disprove a presuggested hypothesis, but only an attempt to find the value of the Upward Bound experience for its participants. In future studies control groups may or may not be used, but researchers should keep in mind the main thrust of such a study--to look at the essence of the Upward Bound program or the affect on its participants.

A fourth bias in the study was the loss of some records by the public schools. Although most of the subjects' academic records were intact, the few partial records that were lost created small gaps in regard to certain students' situations. Therefore the author suggests that yearly records be kept by individuals anticipating doing a future study so there is assurance of a complete set of records.

A fifth limitation was the different lengths of time subjects spent in the program. Some subjects were in the program

for only a year, others for two or three years. Future studies could be planned to investigate the impact of programs such as Upward Bound based on varying lengths of years in the program. In addition, students might be contrasted from different graduation years who have the same number of years in the program in order to get larger samples.

To recapitulate the limitations in the study included the combined use of a questionnaire and interview, the small size of the sample, the nearness of geographical location by all of the sample which discounted those subjects who had moved away from the area or those who could not be located, the absence of a control group, the loss of small portions of some academic records of subjects, and the varying lengths of time subjects were in the program.

Recommendations for future studies include a follow-up interview to succeed the first interview, the training of additional interviewers by means of written instruction or tape recordings which would be sent back to the researcher, so that subjects, situated in far away places could be included the accumulation of high school records a yearly basis, the possible use of a control group, and a combination of subjects from differing years of graduation who participated in the program for equal amounts of time.

Combining the student, staff and program recommendations with the suggestions for future research leads to an inclusive look at all Upward Bound programs. On a national level

Upward Bound programs are generally receiving too little money to serve too few people based on evaluative criteria set up by the Office of Health, Education, and Welfare. A first recourse would naturally be to confront federal policies and funding procedures. The government has not evaluated Upward Bound in a comprehensive manner. Only particular aspects of the program have been analyzed such as acceptance into college, retention rates, grades, and the percentages of students who reamined in the Upward Bound program, ignoring the full range of personal growth. Being a more systematic social change agent, Upward Bound can be effectively evaluated only in more holistic terms. Issues such as self concept, political growth and awareness, personal happiness, personal success and achievements, the program's affect on families, and social growth must be examined. Therefore the author suggests as a first step that Upward Bound programs and other social service agencies facing the same difficulties of measuring human beings with narrowly defined scientific objectives join together to challenge the HEW rationale behind their policies and procedures and offer a more humanistic evaluation alternative technique.

A second national step would be for Upward Bound and other Special Service programs to confront inadequate federal funding for Special Service Programs. This could only succeed on a national level--first by documenting the success of programs and graduate students, second by document-

ing the numbers of students serviced by these programs, third by documenting the proportionate understaffing allowed by fiscal budgets to serve these students, fourth by citing figures on the numbers of potential students that qualify for Upward Bound, and fifth by setting up meetings and writing to state and national congressmen. This could only succeed on a federal level, with a core of individuals coordinating political action and strategies.

Another recommendation for nationwide Upward Bound programs would involve taking positive steps towards financial autonomy. Yearly, Upward Bound programs expend a large part of their energies struggling for survival because of the almost total dependency on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare for funding. By becoming more financial independent, programs could focus on students rather than survival, and provide more qualitative services for poor people. The author sees three possible alternatives to achieve independence.

One direction would be to institutionalize programs. This would simply involve the host institutions assuming financial responsibility for Upward Bound programs. This would involve negotiations and time but it may be well worth it for both parties. Upward Bound would be out from under the auspices of HEW and the Universities would be undertaking a real commitment to surrounding communities. The reader must be cautioned that institutionalization must be accompanied by

institutional guarantees for continued Upward Bound autonomy so that the program does not lose its community base.

A second direction would be for the Upward Bound programs to demand that states assume responsibility for poor people by allocating money to programs. This would necessitate a strong coordinated effort by statewide programs, but in the long run may prove worthwhile. Being funded on the state level would allow more personalized input into the funding procedure with state legislators.

A third recourse would be for programs to become completely independent and incorporate. One program, the Salem State Upward Bound program, has done this and now receives private funds. They have found incorporation tremendously successful, experiencing a new sense of flexibility and mobility now that they are separate from HEW guideline regulations and procedures. Consequently this third avenue would create a freedom that would in turn create more effective services for Upward Bound students.

In summary the author recommends the following innovations for future Upward Bound programs and specifically the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Upward Bound program: exchange programs for Upward Bound students; a comprehensive long and short term planning program for each student so that their lives are further stabilized; a formalized "big-brother" program whereby bridge students would guide non-bridge students; self sustaining graduate student support groups; an

action program whereby former Upward Bound students would work in the communities through the program and receive college credits; a staff training program in counseling and other pertinent areas to better serve poor people; the establishment of a community network of agencies for support and cooperation; a commitment on the part of colleges and universities to non-Upward Bound students; and the founding of a junior Upward Bound program for students' younger brothers and sisters.

On a national level the writer suggests that Upward Bound programs confront the narrow perspective presently used to evaluate Upward Bound programs; challenge federal underfunding for special service programs; and take steps to achieve financial autonomy by either institutionalizing programs, demanding the state to provide funds, or incorporating programs.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE:

I. INTRODUCTION:

I am doing a study on the effectiveness of the Upward Bound program. I will be looking specifically at how the program did or did not affect its graduating students. I would like to ask you some questions about your Upward Bound experience, and have you answer some written questions.

I am interested in your personal experience and your personal opinions. So I would like you to be as honest as possible--there are no right or wrong answers.

I would like to tape record our conversation so I will be able to remember everything we talk about. Is this alright with you?

II. PRESENT SITUATION:

1) What are you doing now?
2) Are you working? Doing what?
3) Are you in school? In what capacity?
4) If you are not in school now have you been to school? How far educationally did you go?
5) Where are you living now? With whom?
6) Are you receiving any type of public assistance?

III. SELF

1) As a result of your Upward Bound experience did your feelings about yourself change at all? How so?
2) From your Upward Bound experience do you feel you got to know yourself any better? In what ways?
3) As a result of your Upward Bound experience did

your ability and confidence to make decisions change at all? How so? Can you give me any examples?

4) From your Upward Bound experience did you become either more or less responsible as a person? How so? Can you give me any examples?

IV. FAMILY

1) Did your Upward Bound experience affect your relationship with your family? In what ways? Can you give me any examples?
2) Has your Upward Bound experience changed your attitude and understanding of your family at all? How so?
3) Has your Upward Bound experience changed how your family sees and feels towards you? How so?

V. RELATIONSHIPS WITH FRIENDS

1) As a result of your Upward Bound experience did anything happen between you and your friends' relationships?
2) Did you remain with former friends?
3) (OR) Did you form new relationships? Why do you think this happened?
4) From your Upward Bound experience did you do the same or different things with your friends? If so, what types of different activities did you engage in?

VI. ACADEMICS AND SCHOOL

1) As a result of the Upward Bound program did anything happen to your schoolwork? Did it improve, stay the same, or get worse?
2) As a result of your Upward Bound experience did your attitude towards school change at all? How so?
3) As a result of your experience in Upward Bound did your grades change at all?
4) As a result of your Upward Bound experience did your attendance in school change at all?
5) From your Upward Bound experience did your curriculum change at all? How so?

VII. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FUTURE

1) As a result of your Upward Bound experience did you see your future the same or different as before? If you did see it differently why do you think this was so?
2) Has Upward Bound had any influence on where you are now? How so?

VIII. GENERAL

1) Do you feel anything stands out as vivid about the Upward Bound experience that is still with you now?
2) Where do you think you might be now without having gone through Upward Bound?
3) Are there any further comments you would like to make?

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

Rationale:

I appreciate our talking and getting your views on your Upward Bound experience. It would help me further if you would now tell me about your experiences using the framework of some questions that I think are also important. Thank you.

Name_____

Age:_____ Married:_____

Education completed:_____

Present educational status if any:_____

Present employment if any:_____

Other source of income:_____

Present living situation:

Where:_____

With whom:_____

Directions:

Read each phrase and complete the sentence. Use the back side of the page if necessary.

1. What I remember most from my Upward Bound days is . . .

2. What I value most from my Upward Bound experience is . . .

Directions:

Read each statement and circle the word that best describes your experience with the Upward Bound program. Under comments add any additional information that might be helpful in my understanding of your responses.

The abbreviations are as follows:
SA - Strongly Agree
A - Agree
U - Undecided
D - Disagree
SD - Strongly Disagree

1. Upward Bound helped me develop my skills and capacities to make new friends.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

2. Upward Bound helped me to see my future clearer and in a more positive way.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

3. Upward Bound helped me to see myself better.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

4. Upward Bound had little or no affect on my schoolwork.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

5. My Upward Bound experience helped me to understand my family better.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

6. My Upward Bound experience didn't affect my relationships with old friends.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

7. My Upward Bound experience didn't help me to get to know myself any better.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

8. Because of Upward Bound I gained a more positive attitude towards school.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

9. As a result of my Upward Bound experience I began having different kinds of problems in my family.

SA S U D SD

Comments:

10. I'd probably be doing what I am now with or without Upward Bound.

SA S U D SD

Comments:

11. My experience in Upward Bound helped me in my ability to make decisions.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

12. My family sees me as better off because of my Upward Bound experience.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

13. As a result of my Upward Bound experience my activities with friends became more meaningful.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

14. Because of Upward Bound I attended school more frequently.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

15. Upward Bound helped me to become a more responsible person.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

16. Because of Upward Bound my curriculum in high school changed.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

17. I'd probably have gotten the same grades in school even if I didn't go to Upward Bound.

SA A U D SD

Comments:

Thank you for your answers, your comments, and your time. At this point if there is anything you would like to add pertaining to the first two questions, the remaining seventeen questions, or anything at all please feel free to do so in the remaining space.